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Turkey's Visa Decision 'Different' From Agreement

AU2509144289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Sep 89 p 2

[Boyko Pangelov article: "More About International Obligations"]

[Excerpts] On 22 August, Turkey introduced the visa process for Bulgarian citizens who wanted to travel to that country. Cases of thousands of separated families resulted from this decision. Many of the Bulgarian citizens, who had already departed for Turkey, found themselves separated from their fathers, mothers, or children who had decided to travel earlier.

Cases of separated families are not a rare phenomenon in international practice, and therefore the issue of their unification is regulated both by bilateral and multilateral agreements. The final document of the Vienna meeting, and more specifically the "Human Contacts" Section, is the most recent multilateral agreement that deals with the issue of unifying separated families.

If one compares Turkey's practice with the articles of this section, which deals with the obligations of the countries that signed the Vienna document, Turkey among them, one would immediately note a great discrepancy. It is well known that the Turkish diplomatic representations do not issue entrance visas within the terms pointed out by the document, and because of Turkey's unilateral decision, this also applies to Bulgarian citizens, parts of whose families already are in Turkey. Instead, they are being given arbitrary terms, within which they can apply for a visa. The date, as one can see from the "numbers" issued to those Bulgarian citizens, can be after 6, 7, or even more months.

I shall quote the relevant articles of the "Human Contacts" Section, so that the readers themselves can reach their conclusions as to how Turkey is observing the obligations that it voluntarily adopted. [passage omitted]

It is a basic principle of international contacts that agreements are adopted with the view to implementing them. However, the practice of our southeastern neighbor, which rather arbitrarily interprets (or better, does not implement) the obligations that it assumed 8 months ago in Vienna, testify to something completely different.

Muslim Mistreated in Turkey

AU2209120989 Sofia BTA in English 1959 GMT 21 Sep 89

["Witness to the Violence in Turkey"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 21 (BTA)—A Bulgarian citizen who has returned from Turkey testified today before a Bulgarian parliamentary committee to the violence committed on him and other of his compatriots in Turkey. Valentin Sokolov of the city of Momchilgrad, who stayed in Turkey for two weeks, said the following:

"When we started back for Bulgaria we were held for four days at Kapikule and we were forbidden everything, absolutely everything, one needs.... They commit outrages over the person there. I, for instance, was beaten with special blocks on the kidneys and hands.... There was a 16-year-old girl who was kidnapped and sold for 80 million lira...."

"One cannot leave his child there on the street alone because any moment it can be kidnapped and mutilated, can be sent to beg or sell water. Human rights are not observed at all.... There are Bulgarian citizens whose passports have been taken and they have no access to the Bulgarian Consulate. I, personally, when I wanted to go to the Bulgarian Consulate and make my documents in order so that I could return without problems, I was stopped and not allowed to enter. So that I had to wait and then entered the consulate from the rear entry, [sentence as received] There are a lot of people who want to return...."

New Turkish Restrictions

AU2509192889 Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 25 Sep 89

["Announcement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Consular Department"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 25 (BTA)—A number of inquiries have been received at the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning the new restrictions introduced by the Turkish side on the travel of Bulgarian citizens to the Republic of Turkey, mentioned on September 23 by Mr Ivan Garelov, anchorman of the "Panorama" Bulgarian Television weekly newscast.

In reply to those inquiries the Consular Department releases the following information:

As already reported, the Bulgarian side has repeatedly called the attention of the Turkish side to some serious violations by the latter's consular missions in the People's Republic of Bulgaria of the 1979 bilateral visa agreement. In response to those Bulgarian representations, on September 16, 1989 the Turkish side handed the ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in Ankara a note whereby new requirements were unilaterally introduced for the issue of visas to Bulgarian citizens wanting to visit Turkey. Thus, in contravention of Article 9 of the visa agreement, the Turkish side requires that a considerable daily allowance of convertible currency in cash should be available to Bulgarian citizens travelling in a tourist capacity and should be declared upon entry in Turkey: 70 US dollars per adult and 50 US dollars per minor. This means that in order to qualify for a 15-day tourist trip to Turkey, an adult Bulgarian citizen should carry 1,050 US dollars and a minor 750 dollars, which adds up to 3,600 dollars for a family with two children.

This measure on the part of Turkey raises another obstacle to the normal contacts between citizens of the two countries, all the more so since it discriminates against Bulgaria. According to the available information, the newly introduced measures apply solely to Bulgarian citizens.

This conclusion is also invited by further formulations contained in the Turkish note. The Turkish side reinterprets Articles 10 and 11 of the visa agreement, introducing the terms "eligible" and "ineligible" Bulgarian citizens with respect to the issue of visas under the said articles. Obviously believing that the restrictions it has introduced are insufficient, Turkey keeps requiring what "additional information and details" it deems necessary about the visa applicants. In addition, by its note Turkey tries to "legitimize" its arbitrary practice of handing out numbers to the visa applicants fixing a second appointment with the Turkish officials for the granting of visas.

These and other actions of the Turkish side are in full contravention of Article 12 of the visa agreement which reads: "The contracting parties shall periodically exchange information with the purpose of facilitating further the travel of their citizens and will consult each other on matters concerning the implementation of the agreement". The unilateral restrictions introduced by the Turkish side do not meet halfway the efforts of the Bulgarian side to overcome the negative effects of the current tensions in the relations between Bulgaria and Turkey, nor do they help establish a constructive cooperation with a view to facilitating the movement of people across their common border. Furthermore, they are inconsistent with the spirit of the provisions of the concluding document of the Vienna Follow-up Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

New Acts Discussed

AU2109193889 Sofia BTA in English 1758 GMT 21 Sep 89

["Rights and Freedoms of the Bulgarian Citizens Who Travel Abroad"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 21 (BTA)—At its today's session the Committee For the Protection of Public Interests and Citizens' Rights with the National Assembly discussed the application of the two acts by which the Bulgarian Nationality Act and the Foreign Passports Act were amended and supplemented in May this year.

These changes of the legislation are in conformity with the obligations Bulgaria assumed under the final document of the Vienna meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The two acts guarantee the Bulgarian citizens' right to travel abroad and come back unobstructedly preserving their citizenship and regulated the order of foreigners' visits to Bulgaria. Other countries' citizens are given the possibility of acquiring Bulgarian citizenship.

Many statements were made and information was presented on different aspects of this complicated humanitarian problem. For example, in connection with Turkey's allegations that some Muslims rites are prohibited in Bulgaria, the people's deputies were familiarized with the letter of the minister of public health and social care sent to the medical establishments all over the country.

The letter reminds that some of the Bulgarians professing the Islam or the Israelite religion circumcise their children. In order to protect the children of possible infections and complications, the Ministry of Public Health and Social Care established prescribed a procedure for the circumcision in 1959. The 30 years past show that the regulation of this problem has been useful for preserving the health of the children. That is why children must be circumcised only at medical establishments and it is to be performed by qualified surgeons only by strictly adhering to the respective medical requirements. The performance of this operation by unqualified persons and outside the medical establishments is unconditionally prohibited.

On the basis of the information presented and after the debates, the Parliamentary Committee came to the conclusion that the Bulgarian Government has adopted the regulations about the application of the acts in due time and that the regulations are entirely in conformity with the principles and the requirements of the acts. The practical enforcement of the acts has made a successful start. All legal norms, rules and procedures related to the right of travel have been made known to the Bulgarian citizens. Efficient means for the exercise of this right have been also provided for, including official written notices in case of refusal and the possibility of lodging appeals against the refusal through court.

The committee established that as a result of the amendment of the legislation the number of Bulgarian citizens travelling abroad has been greatly increased, especially of those going to Turkey.

In this connection the decision adopted at today's session says, "the normal establishment of contacts among people and their exercising the right to travel round the world makes it necessary for all states to maintain relations in the spirit of understanding and cooperation. In this connection the committee is greatly concerned over the restriction measures practised in Turkey in order to hinder the travels and the stay of Bulgarian citizens in that country and greatly worried by the infringement upon human rights and the violence against them. The latest restrictions and the closure of the frontier on the part of Turkey gave rise to the very serious problem of parted families. Such acts deserve to be condemned as they amount to obvious violation of the principles and the purposes of the Statute of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the universally adopted norms of international law and the final document approved at the Vienna

meeting, in particular that part of it which contains provisions for cooperation in the humanitarian and other spheres.

"In implementation of Article 57 of the Constitution, according to which all Bulgarian citizens abroad enjoy the protection of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the committee thinks it necessary to undertake complementary measures for the more full and adequately efficient protection of their rights and interests," emphasises the decision.

The document of the Parliamentary Commission points out the need that the respective administrative, economic and other bodies and organizations in this country must undertake the necessary measures for the observation of the legitimate rights and freedoms of the citizens, should attend strictly the observation of the lawfulness in this country, the equality of all before the law, the equal treatment of all citizens in the exercising of their legitimate rights and the fulfilment of their civil and working obligations; the need to observe the international engagements undertaken by this country in the sphere of the entire complex of civil, political, economic and cultural rights; to continue in the future the unflinching observation of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the laws of this country, guaranteeing freedom of conscience and religion, of the religious life of believers, of their customs and rites; to raise further the national role and function of the Bulgarian language as a state language and to be tolerant and respect the free use of different dialects and languages in everyday communication between people.

As the travel and stay of Bulgarian citizens in other countries arouse a number of questions related to the protection of their rights and provision of their freedoms abroad the committee made concrete recommendations to state bodies and departments. It was pointed out that the work of the National Assembly and the Government on the working out and amending the entire normative regulation in this sphere should continue. It was proposed that the Council of Ministers should introduce to the National Assembly a bill for amendment of the law for currency transactions, the currency control and the legal regime concerning Bulgarians working abroad. The commission will expect from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to provide information on the implementation of the agreements included in the Human Rights Section of the Vienna final document by the countries which have signed it.

Soviet Editor Says It's Turkey's Move

AU1809131989 Sofia BTA in English 1216 GMT 18 Sep 89

["Soviet Diplomat on the Bulgaro-Turkish Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 18 (BTA)—"The future of the Bulgarian-Turkish relations is in the open, frank and equitable dialogue", said Soviet diplomat Boris Pyadishev, editor in chief of the Moscow magazine MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN, in an interview for the KOOPERATIVNO SELO daily. He has been working at the Soviet Embassy in Sofia for eight years.

Dwelling on the reasons for the present straining of Bulgarian-Turkish relations, Boris Pyadishev pointed out that the reason can be determined unequivocally. Bulgaria gave opportunity to every one of the Bulgarian Muslims to leave the country at his wish. To me, Pyadishev said, this is a manifestation not only of good intentions from the Bulgarian side, but also of its desire to act in accordance with the international norms and documents which were signed during the last years within the framework of the CSCE process, and above all in compliance with the Vienna accords.

The Soviet diplomat recalled that the Bulgarian border was opened and the people who wished to do so started leaving for Turkey. I cannot but note, he added, that the Turkish Government as well as Turkey's prime minister hailed that fact and declared that they were ready to accept all Muslims from Bulgaria. But later the events went on in a way that led to a considerable strain of the relations. Turkey closed the border, explaining this act on its side by the necessity of working out a joint emigration agreement. Even if some new agreements are necessary, it is logical that, firstly, there should be secured conditions for the normal fulfillment of the existing agreements and, secondly, promises and declarations, already made, must be kept.

According to Boris Pyadishev logic demands that some urgent steps should be taken to attenuate the strain in the relations between Bulgaria and Turkey, otherwise no constructive talks nor any accords between them would be possible. It is natural to consider that the successful way out of the situation depends on both countries, but the growing impression is that it is now the turn of the Turkish side to make its contribution, Pyadishev said. He defined the attempts to internationalize the problem as particularly unreasonable.

The Soviet diplomat pointed out that the recent declaration of the secretary general of NATO, made on behalf of the member states of the bloc, which in practice is interference in an independent country's internal affairs, cannot be described as correct. The more similar declarations and actions, the lesser the chances of attenuating the existing strain in the relations. All activity should be channeled into another direction—a direction without any ultimatums and threats, for example the threat to boycott the forthcoming ecological forum in Sofia, Boris Pyadishev underlined.

In conclusion of his interview for the KOOPERATIVNO SELO newspaper, he expressed his regret for the serious situation in the Balkans. But according to him there are perfectly real possibilities to lessen and attenuate the strain, to arriving at some concrete agreement

for solving the problems in the Bulgarian-Turkish relations in the near future, I think. The Soviet diplomat said, there are real chances to overcome the present crisis and re-establish the normal good neighbourly relations between the two Balkan states. This will contribute to maintaining a good and normal situation in the whole European continent.

Leaders Thank USSR for Anniversary Greetings

AU2609110489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers.

Dear Comrades,

Please accept the sincere gratitude of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the Bulgarian people on the cordial greetings and wishes addressed on our country's National Day—the 45th anniversary of the socialist revolution.

The great cause of the 9 September 1944 victory, achieved with the decisive assistance of the Soviet Army, today finds its continuation and development in the BCP course, aimed at restructuring, renewing socialism, and the Bulgarian people's material and intellectual progress.

We are deeply convinced that broad and comprehensive cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR and their foreign policy cooperation will strengthen and improve on the basis of the common goals and tasks that are being solved by the BCP and the CPSU, for the benefit of the two fraternal nations, and in the name of socialism and peace.

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Mladenov To Speak at UN General Assembly

AU2509151589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Sep 89 pp 1, 5

[Yoan Mateev report: "Motivated Optimism"]

[Excerpts] Washington, 19 September. Today at the UN headquarters in New York a brief but dignified and deeply meaningful celebration took place—the delegates of the member countries marked the third Tuesday in September—the Day of Peace on which, according to tradition, the UN General Assembly session opens every year. [passage omitted]

Petur Mladenov, Bulgarian foreign minister, is expected to arrive in New York during the week. He will lead our delegation at the session. According to the program, he will speak on 3 October. Undoubtedly, as in previous years, Bulgaria's words and the comprehensive activity of our delegation at the UN General Assembly will be totally in line with the letter and spirit of the UN Charter and will contribute to strengthening international security, cooperation, and the atmosphere of understanding and good-neighborly relations.

'Readiness' for Better Relations With GDR

AU1909122289 Sofia BTA in English 1120 GMT 19 Sep 89

["Experience Teaches"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 19 (BTA)—RABOTNICHESKO DELO today runs a signed commentary which considers the tensions in the relations between the GDR, Hungary and the FRG concerning the departure of the GDR citizens, visiting Hungary, for the FRG.

The author says that now, four decades after the founding of the GDR, revival of "dangerous illusions, disenchant from life" is once again observed aiming the crash of the German workers and peasant state, the grounds for which are sought in the various aspects of the issue concerning the GDR citizens, visiting Hungary, who have requested to emigrate to the FRG. The revenge-seeking and neo-Nazi circles are being activated. It is said that parallel with the expressed nationalistic emotions "responsible activists and politicians" in the FRG are regarding "more reservedly and more soberly" the issue which has arisen and the possible establishment of such an approach could bring to dropping of the tension and settlement of the problems in which the FRG, the GDR, Hungary as well as the other European states are likely interested.

"Hungary turns up to be tangled in a case which concerns the two German states," the commentary says and explains that the liberalization of the regulations related to the Hungarian-Austrian frontier in May this year is "tendentiously and purposefully advertised" by the west German mass media as "a unique possibility" for transfer of the GDR citizens, visiting Hungary, to the FRG territory without the respective permission. The author writes further of the consequences of this "propaganda-recruiting action" which has finally brought to the establishment of "busy diplomatic contacts, which are not lacking tension" between Bonn, Berlin and Budapest, and has been followed by the exchange of notes between the GDR and Hungarian Ministries of Foreign Affairs.

After stressing that it is impossible to offer concrete recipes from the outside about easing of the misunderstandings between two allied and friendly to Bulgaria countries, the author says that the GDR and Hungary's declared readiness to develop in future, too, their friendly relations is of significant importance. "This

readiness must now find an expression in an ever greater insistence and constructive actions for finding an outcome of the difficult situation which would be satisfactory to both sides," the author writes in conclusion.

The tension which has arisen between Bonn, Berlin and Budapest concerning the abovementioned issue, the RABOTNICHESKO DELO article says, shows that the building of the common European home is not protected against unexpected disturbances and for the quicker, more secure moving forward of the all-European process the lessons of the post-war development can also be useful. And one of the main lessons is that all kinds of attempts to undermine the foundations of the German workers and peasants' state are counter-indicative to security and understanding in Europe.

Zhivkov Meets KPD Chairman

AU2209122789 Sofia BTA in English
1134 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 22 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the [BCP] and chairman of the State Council, met today Mr Herbert Mies, chairman of the Communist Party of Germany [KPD], who is paying a visit to this country at the invitation of the BCP.

The two leaders briefed each other about the tasks which the parties are solving under the new conditions.

The guest was acquainted with the political steps for transforming the July Concept as our party and country's own contribution in the renewal of socialism, in the general development of humankind. On his part, the guest told about the problems and difficulties which the KPD is facing at the moment, about the efforts directed at preservation of the ideological and organizational unity of the party, at its renewal based on the principles of scientific socialism and in compliance with the requirements of the present day.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Herbert Mies stressed that the processes of restructuring and renewal are an expression of the objective needs of social development. They noted that these processes should develop and the concrete conditions and traditions of each party and each country should be taken into consideration.

The two leaders stressed the need to activate the theoretical and practical interaction between communist parties, between all progressive and democratic forces in the world. They agreed that the prestige and influence of communists will depend further on their contribution to the modern development of a democratic alternative of world social development, which will guarantee the survival of humankind and take into considerations the growing democratic needs of the working people, their desire for social justice and humanization of all spheres of life.

Satisfaction was expressed with the state of relations between the BCP and the KPD as well as the mutual readiness to strengthen their businesslike character by improving their content and forms.

Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, participated in the meeting.

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During his visit the chairman of the KPD had meetings and talks with Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, and Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

Stanishev Meets Young Socialists Delegation

AU2009173189 Sofia BTA in English
1649 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 20 (BTA)—Mr. Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], received the delegation of the International Union of Young Socialists headed by Mr. Ricard Torrell, secretary general of the organization, which is on a visit in this country.

The guests were acquainted with the changes in Bulgaria as well as with certain aspects of the foreign policy of the BCP and the state.

During the talk was stressed the role and the responsibility of the progressive and democratic youth forces in the struggle for strengthening of peace, broadening of the dialogue and the cooperation between the youth and peoples in the world.

UK's David Steel Arrives for Visit

AU1909195189 Sofia BTA in English
1852 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 19 (BTA)—The improvement of the climate in East-West relations is a good basis for the promotion of the relations between Bulgaria and Great Britain, said at a press conference today Mr. David Steel, eminent leader of the Social-Liberal Democrats and deputy chairman of the Liberal International.

Mr Steel made a positive assessment of the talks he had today with Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and first vice-president of the State Council, at whose invitation Mr Steel is paying a visit here, with Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, and with Lieutenant-General Ranyu Minchev, spokesman for the Ministry of Defense.

As a British politician I am looking forward to the increase of the trade and economic contacts between our two countries, Mr David Steel said. He pointed out that his hopes for the upgrade development of Bulgaro-British economic cooperation are based on the economic reforms in Bulgaria, "although many of them are at an initial stage".

The leader of the Social-Liberal Democrats expressed his optimism over the future of East-West relations, the

efforts for control and reduction of armament, the process of building an all-European home. The new spirit, a spirit of openness which I felt here also makes me optimistic, Mr David Steel said and underlined his interest in the socioeconomic changes in Bulgaria. He prognosticated a sharp increase of the interest in Bulgaria on the part of the West, proportional to the implementation of the reforms in the country.

Replying to a question about the forthcoming visit of Ms Margaret Thatcher to Moscow, Mr Steel characterized "Margaret Thatcher's excellent understanding with Mikhail Gorbachev" as an important positive factor in support of the efforts for the reduction of the nuclear arsenals of the United States and the USSR, for the improvement of the climate in East-West relations.

Received by Zhikov

AU2009140689 Sofia BTA in English 1340 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 20 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, State Council president, received today the delegation of the Liberal Party of Great Britain, headed by the prominent leader of the party, Mr David Steel, deputy-chairman of the Liberal International, which is paying a visit to this country at the invitation of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS).

Mr Todor Zhivkov expressed conviction that the visit of such prestigious political figures will promote the development of Bulgaro-British relations.

During the talk a positive assessment was given to the development of bilateral relations over the last few years and it was indicated that the BZNS and the Liberal Party are doubtlessly contributing to their expansion. Special attention was paid to the possibilities for deepening of economic interaction. The reforms which are taking place in all spheres of life in Bulgaria, the State Council president said, and mainly the profound economic reforms have a favourable impact on the use of new forms of cooperation with the Western states, Great Britain included. The transition to company-based organization of the economic activity will contribute to the founding of many more efficient contacts between Bulgarian economic organizations and leading British companies.

Mr Petur Tanchev, the first vice president of the State Council participated in the meeting.

Steel Leaves

AU2009191789 Sofia BTA in English 1851 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 20 (BTA)—The visit ended of the delegation of the British Liberal Party, headed by Mr David Steel, deputy chairman of the Liberal International. Though short in time this visit was full of a number of meetings which permitted the wide exchange of opinions on issues of Bulgaro-British cooperation.

The delegation was received by Mr Todor Zhivkov, State Council president, by Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), by Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, by government representatives.

The delegation departed today.

Consultations Held With Nigerian Delegation

AU2009072289 Sofia BTA in English 1842 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 19 (BTA)—Today the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Nigeria held political consultations.

The two delegations were led respectively by Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, and Mr Mohammed Zidum Anka, state minister of foreign affairs of Nigeria. The two sides exchanged views on a wide range of problems of the present-day international situation, paying special attention to the situation in the Balkans and the African Horn. It was established with satisfaction that the two countries share the same or similar positions on the problems discussed.

The leaders of the two delegations underlined that it is necessary to lend variety to and extend the trade and economic relations between Bulgaria and Nigeria.

The guest had a meeting with Mr Lyubomir Popov, chairman of the Committee for Affairs of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the Religious Denominations and deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Stoichkov Receives Nigerian

AU2009071889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] On 19 September Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mohammed Zium Anka, Nigeria's minister of state for external affairs, who is visiting Bulgaria as head of the Nigerian delegation for the fifth session of the Joint Bulgarian-Nigerian Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation. At the talk the guest was briefed on the process of renewal which is taking place in all areas of Bulgarian life. The implementation of the agreements reached last year between the leaders of the Bulgarian and Nigerian Governments was reviewed. New areas and forms of cooperation, in accordance with the changes that are taking place in the economies of the two countries, also were discussed.

Atanasov Meets Minister

AU2009200989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] On 20 September Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mohammed Zidum Anka, Nigeria's state minister for external affairs. They discussed a broad range of issues related to bilateral

economic cooperation. The positive development of this cooperation were pointed out and the possibilities for its further expansion and strengthening were reviewed.

Special attention was devoted to the prospects of intensifying businesslike contacts in agriculture in food industry, construction, and mining industry, as well as in establishing joint enterprises in various spheres. The ways of expanding trade exchange also were reviewed.

Stoichkov Discusses Oil

AU2009131189 Sofia BTA in English 1207 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 20 (BTA)—Mr Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and co-chairman of the Bulgaro-Nigerian Committee of Economic and Sci-Technical Cooperation, today received Mr Mohammed Zidum Anka, state minister of foreign affairs of Nigeria.

The two sides discussed the possibilities of lending variety to the forms of cooperation which would be in line with the processes of restructuring taking place in the economies of the two countries. There are plans for the establishment of small joint enterprises for the processing of agricultural products and participation of "Technoexportstroy" and "Transcomplect" in the construction of projects in Nigeria.

Special attention was paid to the cooperation in the oil and the gas industry and to the future activity of the joint trade bank recently set up in Nigeria in partnership with "Mineralbank" and the Bulgaro-Nigerian Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Economic Session Ends

AU2509204689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Sep 89 p 6

[Text] The fifth session of the Bulgarian-Nigerian Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation ended in Sofia on 20 September.

The protocol, signed by Khristo Khristov, minister at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and Mohammed Zidum Anka, Nigeria's state minister for external affairs, offers the two countries' business circles a broad field for cooperation.

Accelerated production of wheat will develop in Nigeria's northern regions with the assistance of Bulgarian specialists and agrarian equipment. Small food industry enterprises will be constructed. The document envisages the development of a long-range program for cooperation in this sphere. Broad space has been devoted to cooperation in the petroleum and gas industry, and to the parpticipation of our engineering organizations in constructing energy capacities in Nigeria. Attention is directed toward the joint development of processing in coal mines and the mining of mineral raw materials. Efforts in the industrial sphere will concentrate on organizing the joint assembly of motor cars and personal computers, and the production of glass, china, and textile industry articles.

The protocol specifies ways of intensifying bilateral contacts and developing mutually beneficial cooperation in construction, transportation, education, and health protection. It outlines the prospects for the work of the newly created joint trade bank in Nigeria, with the participation of Mineralbank and the Bulgarian-Nigerian Trade-Industrial Chamber.

Greek Communist Visits, Meets Balev, Stanishev

AU2009194089 Sofia BTA in English 1758 GMT 20 Sep 89

["International Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 20 (BTA)—Ended the visit to this country of Mr. Kharilaos Florakis, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece and chairman of the coalition of leftist and progressive forces. [Sentence as received] The visit was made at the invitation of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

During the last day of his visit the guest continued his talks with Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, and Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP. The two sides viewed questions of the practical work of the two parties, measures for the further strengthening of the relations between them were outlined. They paid attention to the implementation of the plan for interparty cooperation.

Mr Kharilaos Florakis left this country today.

Lukanov-Led Delegation Visit to Iran Ends

AU2109201489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] The visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran by a Bulgarian economic delegation led by Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, ended. The delegation visited Iran at the invitation of the Iranian Government and to participate in the 15th International Tehran Fair.

The leader of the delegation was received by Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Iranian president, and conveyed to him an oral message from Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman.

The president highly assessed the development of bilateral relations and stressed the positive prospects for their strengthening. International issues of mutual interest also were discussed.

Andrey Lukanov also met Iranian ministers and economic figures. The directions of developing bilateral economic relations were pointed out. The development

of projects in the spheres of industry, petroleum-chemistry, and agriculture also was discussed.

Zhivkov Says People 'Must Have Their Say'

AU2109200089 Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 21 Sep 89

["T. Zhivkov on the Restructuring in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 21 (BTA)—Bulgaria's development is guaranteed by the dedicated work of her citizens, by the capacity of the Bulgarian economy for fast restructuring and by the close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, said today Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, during his visit today to the Sofia residential areas of "Vuzrazhdane" and "Ovcha Kupel".

At the meeting with representatives of the public from the "Vuzrazhdane" Region Mr. Todor Zhivkov spoke of the socioeconomic restructuring in Bulgaria. Dwelling on the increased role of the local self-government in the conditions of restructuring he noted that the municipalities have been granted real power which they must use to the full for the development of their territories. The sociopolitical activity should be transferred to the municipalities. All done by the municipality must be discussed and decided with the participation of the people living in it. The people must have their say, said Mr. Todor Zhivkov.

Democratic Elements of Plan Compilation Viewed

AU2009154789 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 18 Sep 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Plan: Expression of Working People's Interests"]

[Excerpts] Planning is a crucial issue in implementing economic reform in our country and comprehensively restructuring our socialist society. [passage omitted]

If we analyze what has been practiced until now, we shall see that it was precisely the process of planning that served as an instrument to activate various forms of intensifying the activity of the labor collectives and to better utilize the potential of our economy. Counterplanning, decreasing the quantity of plan indices, and striving to lead planning out of the cabinets of a narrow circle of specialists and leaders were directed at this goal.

The company-based organization, which must give a new image to our national economy, serves as a watershed in organizing and managing the economy. Composing the company-based plan based on scientific-technical and socioeconomic development now turns into a unique criterion of the real change.

The party line on implementing profound structural changes in the economy, accelerated technological renewal, and high foreign currency returns must serve as the starting point of the new plan. The requirement that the state plan as well as the plan of every economic formation have an emphasized social orientation and guarantees better satisfaction of the people's needs and a higher standard of living must be a leading principle. [passage omitted]

The initial work related to composing the 1990 plan has serious signs of change. The Council of Ministers has already discussed and soon will finally set the specific economic conditions, norms, and regulating instruments, on whose basis the companies will work out their own plans. For the first time the commodity producers will receive on time a clear answer to the basic questions about the taxes and payments to the municipal people's councils, the interest percentage, the foreign currency factor, wholesale prices, agrarian produce's purchase price, the scope and kind of state orders, the import and export quotas for foodstuffs and other goods, and so forth.

This very important stage is not devoid of problems. From the trade union point of view, acute and important issues must be resolved, such as decreasing the part of the profit that is being seized, determining the tax breaks for many branches and activities, especially in anything related to producing goods and services for the population, limiting the interference of the state and its organs in the internal distribution relations of the companies, and eliminating the arresting influence of the mechanism for regulating the labor wage increase. All preconditions exist for firmly asserting the Economic Activity Code in 1990, and for assuming responsibility by the companies in an attempt to solve by themselves the quantity and kinds of funds and the norms for forming them. This is related to the greatest degree to the means allocated for social-everyday life enterprises, which must quickly and palpably increase with the labor wage and are directly related to the results of economic activity. [passage omitted]

In the contradictory situation that exists, in which on the one hand, real steps related to creating favorable economic conditions for asserting the companies are evident, and on the other hand, the probability of ignoring the labor collectives emerges, the trade unions cannot remain passive and uncommitted to the planning activity at all levels, and most of all in the companies and their subunits. For the time being, the situation is rather versatile: In some places, on the basis of the old practice, the trade union organs continue to work as in the past as assistants of the economic leadership. However, the striving of the trade unions to stop dealing with issues of planning and production is ever more strongly evident. It is just in very few organizations that an approach and method have been found for developing trade union activity under the new conditions and from the positions of the people's interests and needs. [passage omitted]

By giving priority to their defending function, the trade unions must see the plan as an expression and a way of implementing the working people's interests, and from this position they must become those who reveal reserves of high production efficiency. Only the plan that incorporates the interests of the people and places them in harmony with social needs is a good plan which guarantees good economic results. Now is the time that the trade unions will begin to actually apply the tested forms and mechanisms of mutual relations, such as social agreements and collective labor contracts, with the state and economic organs. [passage omitted]

Parliamentary Citizens' Rights Commission Meets

AU2109113989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] A session of the Defense of Social Interests and Citizens' Rights Commission opened at the National Assembly this morning.

The application of the laws adopted by the 10th session of the Ninth National Assembly in May 1989 on amendments and addenda to the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship and on amendments and addenda to the Law on Foreign Travel Passports was discussed.

Reporter [name indistinct] reports as follows on the session.

[Begin recording] The session of the Defense of Social Interests and of Citizens' Rights Commission was opened by Prodan Stoyanov, deputy chairman of the commission. He announced that, in addition to the members of the commission, Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, representatives of the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Human Rights Commission, and citizens were taking part in the work of the session.

The speaker pointed out that the amendments and addenda to the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship and the Law on Foreign Travel Passports which were adopted by the National Assembly not only complement the commitments assumed by our country in connection with the final document of the Vienna meeting, they also demonstrate a major step forward along the path of restructuring in our organizational and political system [words indistinct].

In his report, Prodan Stoyanov stressed the great interest in the amendments and addenda to the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship [words indistinct]. From the date of publication of the amendments and addenda to the present, over 700 people contacted the Ministry of Justice regarding applications for citizenship, and over 650 application forms for the acquisition of Bulgarian citizenship have been sent out to applicants.

Georgi Yordanov, representative of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and chief of the Foreign Passports Department, dwelled on the fundamentally altered practice in the issue of foreign travel passports. He pointed out that 16,447 applications for foreign travel passports were accepted in the period from 1 to 15 September 1989, while 5,953 foreign travel passports were issued. He added that, contrary to certain expectations, these figures do not exceed those for the same period in 1988. [end recording]

The session is continuing with statements by National Assembly deputies. We will give you more details later on the session of the Defense of Social Interests and Citizens' Rights Permanent Commission.

Zhivkov Visits Combine in Sofia District

AU2109102689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] This morning Comrade Todor Zhivkov visited the Applied Systems Technological Combine in Sofia's Ovcha Kupel Municipality. Later on, he met representatives of the public in his own constituency, Vuzrazhdane Municipality, and leading figures of the local sociopolitical and mass organizations.

Reporter Tsveti Gerov reported the following by telephone a short while ago:

[Begin Gerov recording] Comrade Todor Zhivkov's meeting with the collective of the Applied Systems Technological Combine, which is one of the most recently established and up-to-date enterprises of our electronics industry, was very cordial. Comrade Zhivkov was welcomed in front of the combine building by Ivan Panev, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, by leaders of the Ovcha Kupel Municipality, and managers of the Software Products and Systems Association.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov inspected the workshops for the production of multilayer printed circuit boards and computers, where modern technological lines and precision equipment are applied. In the exhibition hall some of the products developed and produced were demonstrated. Computers, unique technical apparatus, multilayer printed circuit boards, and other equipment intended for other branches of the Bulgarian electronics industry were also shown.

The combine has business contacts with over 10 Western companies and participates in joint enterprises with the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

During the talks that followed Comrade Todor Zhivkov was briefed on the company-based organization and on the methods of the company in the production of software products and systems, and on the efforts of the collective in this technological combine aimed at a steady renewal of products at the same high quality level already achieved and at on the basis of the full financial and foreign exchange (?independence) already existing.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov congratulated the collective and wished it further success in improving, expanding and intensifying its activites.

Later on, our first party and state leader, accompanied by Comrade Ivan Panev, visited Vuzrazhdane Municipality.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's meeting with representatives of the public, leaders of sociopolitical and mass organzations began at the headquarters of the Vuzrazhdane Municipal BCP Committee.

We will report further details on this meeting in our later transmissions. [end recording]

Defense Minister's Order on Army Anniversary Day

AU2509123589 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Sep 89 p 1

["Order of the Minister of National Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria," Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, on the 45th anniversary of the establishment of the Bulgarian People's Army]

[Text] Comrades officers, generals, and admirals,

Comrades soldiers, sailors, sergeants, and petty officers,

Comrades workers, technicians, engineers, and employees of the military enterprises and departments,

Soldiers of the reserve forces;

The front ranks of the first worker-peasant units and detachments, whose legal heir the Bulgarian People's Army is, were crowned with eternal glory during the memorable days of the September 1923 Antifascist Insurrection.

Established immediately after the victory of the 9 September 1944 Revolution, the Bulgarian People's Army, shoulder to shoulder with the valiant Soviet Army inscribed heroic pages during the Fatherland War and made a worthy contribution to the final defeat of Hitlerite fascism.

During the past 45 years, under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], our army was constructed according to the image and example of the Soviet Army, and turned into a reliable defender of peace and socialism, and a school of heroism and patriotism.

The soldiers and commanders of the Bulgarian People's Army greet their holiday in an atmosphere of universal labor upsurge for accelerating in practice revolutionary restructuring of all areas of life. They work tirelessly to increase the defensive power of the motherland and make their worthy contribution to implementing the BCP July Concept in life. New and higher results have been achieved in combat and political training. The tasks related to improving the quality of combat training, ensuing from the defensive military doctrine, are being successfully solved.

The military workers and employees are implementing their tasks with dignity.

The Bulgarian soldiers, in a uniform formation with the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact member countries, led by the Soviet Army, are always ready to defend the sacred borders of our motherland and the socialist community.

Comrades soldiers and commanders,

Comrade military workers and employees,

Soldiers of the reserve forces,

I most cordially greet you on the 45th anniversary of the Bulgarian People's Army. I wish you and your families good health and new successes in your highly noble and responsible activity for constructing and defending our socialist motherland.

To mark the 45th anniversary of the Bulgarian People's Army

I Order:

There will be fireworks displays on 23 September in our capital, Sofia, and in the cities of Plovdiv, Sliven, and Varna.

Long live our dear motherland—the People's Republic of Bulgaria—and may it prosper!

Glory to the Bulgarian People's Army—loyal guard of peace and socialism!

Let unity and combat unity among the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact, led by the Soviet Army, strengthen!

Long live the BCP—organizer and inspirer of all our victories!

Minister of national defense, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov.

'Organizers' of May Demonstrations Sentenced

AU2009190689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Our correspondent Ivaylo Savov reports: On 19 September, the Shumen People's Court reviewed File No. 402 of general criminal character, related to the case of some of the organizers and instigators of the 27 May 1989 disturbances in Shumen.

The court found Zlati Shterev Manolov, age 31; Yulian Ignatov Anev, age 25; and Fidan Demirov Goranov, age 51; citizens of Shumen, guilty.

Zlati Shterev Manolov admitted that he was guilty of instigating and leading the participants in the 27 May disturbances to use force with the purpose of compelling the governmental organs to refrain from implementing

their duty, related to protecting public order. This is a crime according to Article 269, Paragraph 3 of the Criminal Code. The court sentenced him to 5 years in prison.

Yulian Ignatov Anev admitted his guilt under the same article of the Criminal Code. He was sentenced to 15 months in prison.

Fidan Demirov Goranov admitted that he was guilty in deliberately committing in May in the cities of Shumen and Kaolinovo acts which could lead to creating distrust toward the government and disseminating confusion in society. He was found guilty according to Article 273 of the Criminal Code, and sentenced to 18 months in prison.

The prison terms are unconditional. The verdicts can be appealed.

The investigation of other organizers and instigators of the disturbances has ended, and they will be brought to court.

New Gas Deposit Found in Lukovitsa

AU2509200689 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 20 Sep 89 p 2

[Zhana Popova report: "New Gas Field"]

[Text] Lovech, 19 September. The drilling workers from the Pleven Geology-Prospecting Enterprise confirmed the gas found in Lukovitsa municipality. The work at that location already began last year, when local structures in the region of the settlements of Bezhanovo and Uglen in Lukovitsa municipality, and Katunets and Dragana, Ugurchina municipality have been tested.

The gas deposit has a great importance not only as an addition to the existing deposits of gas for our industry, but also as a geological find. Drilling brigades led by Nikola Mikhaylov and Plamen Paskalev are working now in the new field.

Macedonian Economic Exhibitions Opens

AU1909113089 Sofia BTA in English 1007 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 19 (BTA)—The seventy largest companies of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia are showing more than 2,000 exhibits from all branches of the economy of this republic of Yugoslavia at the exhibition which opened here today.

Business circles representatives regard the exhibition as an occasion for further increase of the favourable trends, outlined over the last years in the economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Macedonia. It is indicative that during the last year goods exchange was 54.9 million dollars, with a growth of 54.5 percent as compared to 1987.

Yet Bulgaria is still only taking the fifth place in the "rank list" of Macedonia's trade and economic relations with the CMEA member countries. This fact was considered as unjustified and unexplainable at the press conference of representatives of the business circles of Macedonia and Bulgaria, which was held here. A common conviction was expressed that there are favourable conditions and no obstacles for a qualitatively new stage in the development of mutually beneficial business contacts. The present exhibition is expected to contribute to this with the useful contacts between the interested economic partners.

Promising branches for cooperation on a long-term basis are the chemical and metal processing industries, textile and by-the-border trade, as Mr Vancho Zdraev and Mr Dose Kotevski, representatives of Macedonian Economic Chamber, told journalists. A Bulgarian participant in the Joint Commission on Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation told a BTA reporter that the country is preparing diligently for the forthcoming session of the commission which is expected to become a starting point.

A number of transactions and agreements are expected to be concluded at the present exhibition.

Delegations Meet

AU2009201589 Sofia BTA in English 1718 GMT 20 Sep 89

["Economic Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 20 (BTA)—Mr Petko Danchev, chairman of the Bulgarian section of the Intergovernmental Bulgaro-Yugoslavian Committee on Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation received today Mr Vanco Zdravev, chairman of Chamber of Economy of Socialist Republic of Macedonia, and Mr Boris Rikalovski, secretary of the Secretariat for Foreign Economic Relations. They are paying a visit to this country in relation with the exhibition on economy of Macedonia on display in Sofia.

It was stressed at the meeting that the Governments of Bulgaria and Macedonia are ready to support on a reciprocal basis the realization of projects in agriculture, transport, car industry and other branches of economy. After an analysis was made on the fulfillment of the agreements for cooperation in the various sectors of economy, signed over the last years, specific initiatives were mapped up for the overcoming of certain difficulties, arising at the establishment of joint enterprises.

The possibilities were considered for the accelerated use of the new economic approaches and forms, including the establishment of joint productions in the border areas and the determination of free trade zones with joint management. Special attention was paid to the activation of contacts in the intellectual sphere and mainly to the further interaction between the Academies of Sciences and the universities, to the expansion of tourist exchange.

Mr Khristo Khristov, minister in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and Mr Kiril Tsochev, chairman of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, were present at the meeting.

Statistical Data on Industrial Growth

AU2109140989 Sofia BTA in English 1217 GMT 21 Sep 89

["Stepping Up Economic Growth Despite Problems"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 21 (BTA)—The main characteristics of the work of the Bulgarian industry in the eight months past are a 2.8 percent increase of products made and an 11.2 percent increase of labour efficiency.

Referring to data published by the Central Statistical Department, the IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT (Economic Life) newspaper announces that from January to August 1989, 34 milliard 857 million leva's worth of production was made, labour efficiency increased by 11.2 percent and the material cost per 100 leva's worth of production dropped by 2.2 percent. The production made by one industrial worker was increased by 6 percent compared with last year.

There was a leap in the consumer goods production—goods amounting to about 11 milliard leva's worth appeared in the market, i.e., there is an increase of 11.6 percent compared with the same period last year.

The companies, however, should make more efforts to fulfill their annual plans, the paper notes, because:

In the new conditions ensuing from the economic reforms the state contracts for 110 industrial products were not guaranteed by the companies' plans and in the eight months past the plans in kind for 82 types of raw materials and products as pig iron, steel, truck tires and some other products of the chemical industry were not fulfilled.

Compared with last year, there is a drop in the manufacture of 101 products —mainly energy and raw material resources—and in August the production rate of consumer goods also showed a decrease—maybe it can be explained with the summer holidays and the great number of Bulgarian citizens travelling abroad.

The number of production units that did not fulfill rhythmically even their own plans was also increased. In August they were 1,535—more than 31 percent of all production units, points out IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT and says that this may result in an "avalanche" effect—destroying the production rhythm of the enterprises which do not receive the supplies they have made cooperative contracts for.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 17-23 Sep

AU2209170289

[Editorial report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the monitoring period from 1500 GMT on 17 September through 1500 GMT on 23 September report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev held final talks in Sofia on 20 September with Kharilaos Florakis, chairman of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party, at the end of his visit to Bulgaria. (Sofia BTA in English 1758 GMT 20 Sep 89)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and State Council chairman, received in Sofia on 19 September Kharilaos Florakis, chairman of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party. (Sofia BTA in English 1259 GMT 19 Sep 89) In Sofia on 20 September Zhivkov received David Steel, deputy chairman of the Liberal International and a leader of the Social and Liberal Democrats Party of Great Britain. (Sofia BTA in English 1340 GMT 20 Aug 89) On 21 September Zhivkov made a visit to Ovcha Kupel and Vuzrazhdane Municipalities in Sofia. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 21 Sep 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Sofia on 19 September Frantisek Ondrich, chairman of the CSSR People's Control Committee. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 19 Sep 89) In Sofia on 20 September Atanasov received Mohammed Zidum Anka, minister of state for foreign affairs of Nigeria. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 20 Sep 89)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, attended wreath-laying ceremonies at the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum, Soviet Army Memorial, and the Memorial to the Unknown Soldier in Sofia on 22 September to mark the 45th anniversary of the formation of the Bulgarian People's Army. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 22 Sep 89)

Petko Danchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Sofia on 20 September two Yugoslav economic officials, Vanco Zdravev and Boris Rikalovski. (Sofia BTA in English 1718 GMT 20 Sep 89)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, ended a visit to Iran on 21 September with a Bulgarian economic delegation. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 21 Sep 89)

Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a session of the Bulgarian-Nigerian Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation that opened in Sofia on 18 September. (Sofia BTA in English 1349 GMT 18 Sep 89) In Sofia on 19 September Stoichkov received Mohammed Zidum Anka, minister of state for foreign affairs of Nigeria. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 19 Sep 89; Sofia BTA in English 1207 GMT 20 Sep 89)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received in Sofia on 20 September a delegation from the International Union of Young Socialists led by its secretary general Richard Torel. (Sofia BTA in English 1649 GMT 20 Sep 89)

Prague Supports International CW Convention

LD2609194589 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Milan Suchanek commentary]

[Text] One of the objectives of the just opened session of the United Nations General Assembly is the adoption of an agreement on the universal ban and liquidation of chemical weapons. In addressing the Assembly, President George Bush proposed a three- stage plan beginning with a substantial cutting of the chemical arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union in the first stage. Czechoslovakia's contribution to the endeavor aimed at a comprehensive solution of the problem of chemical weapons is outlined in the following comment by Milan Suchanek:

Czechoslovakia views the earliest possible prohibition and liquidation of chemical weapons as one of the principal goals of its foreign policy. With this objective in mind it has realized the national and is preparing an international experiment on its territory demonstrating the feasibility of inspections of chemical plants to prevent their misuse for the production of chemical weapons. Moreover, jointly with the GDR, Czechoslovakia has proposed the formation of a zone free of chemical weapons running through Central Europe. But first and foremost Czechoslovakia calls for a definite solution of the problem of chemical weapons through an international convention now being prepared at the UN Disarmament Conference in Geneva.

Czechoslovakia does not possess or produce chemical weapons even though some 10,000 tonnes of American toxic substances are stored at military bases in neighboring West Germany. Moreover, the Pentagon is contemplating deployment of new chemical binary weapons and introduction of new chemical substances than can ignite the carbon and gas mask filters; this notwithstanding Washington's proclaimed willingness to reduce its stockpiles of chemical ammunition. This incicates a method to replace quantity with quality something that (?cannot) be accepted.

Czechoslovakia (?is pursuing) a comprehensive solution which will put a definite end to the chemical threat in any form whatsoever, and this is why it has been presenting its own proposals that should expedite such a comprehensive solution.

Johanes Departs for UNGA Session 22 Sep

LD2209173389 Prague CTK in English 1219 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 22 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes left here Friday [22 September] for New York to lead a Czechoslovak delegation to the 44th U.N. General Assembly session there.

Johanes Meets FRG's Genscher, Discusses Refugees

LD2509215689 Prague CTK in English 2048 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] New York Sept 25 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes met here today FRG Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to discuss the current state of bilateral relations and prospects of their further development.

The two statesmen exchanged opinions on international issues and spoke also about the stay of GDR citizens at the FRG Embassy in Prague. Jaromir Johanes pointed out that solution of this issue is a matter of negotiations between the FRG and the GDR, stressing the necessity to respect citizenship of counries-parties to the CSCE, their laws and emigration regulations, as required also by the CSCE documents.

'Nearly 1,000' GDR Refugees at FRG Embassy

LD2509173389 Hamburg DPA in German 1647 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—According to information available to DPA, nearly 1,000 GDR refugees are on the territory of the FRG Embassy in Prague today. Several dozen people had managed to climb over the fence on 25 September as well, regardless of the controls by Czech police. Some of them climbed over under the eyes of the police.

PZPR's Rakowski Arrives for 'Working' Visit

Talks With Jakes

LD2509170389 Warsaw PAP in English 1425 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Prague, Sept 25—PUWP [Polish United Workers Party—FBIS] Central Committee [CC] First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski arrived here today for a short working visit paid at the invitation from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ).

At the Prague Airport Rakowski was greeted by members of supreme authorities of CPCZ, headed by CC General Secretary Milos Jakes.

In the morning, both party leaders held talks dealing with the situation in the international communist movement and with cooperation between the PUWP and the CPCZ.

Discusses 'Topical' Policy Issues

LD2509184689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, paid a 1-day friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee.

He held talks with Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. He was received by President of the Republic Gustav Husak and met Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec.

During a cordial and comradely meeting, leading representatives of the two fraternal parties briefed each other on the main tasks which communists of the two countries face and on the economic and political situation in Czechoslovakia and Poland. They also examined questions of development of cooperation between the two parties in the present period and exchanged views on topical foreign policy issues.

At the end of their talks Comrades Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Milos Jakes gave interviews to Czechoslovak mass media. In reply to the question how they assess their talks, which were held in new political conditions in Poland they said the following:

[Begin recording] [Rakowski in Polish fading into Czech translation] Our talks concerned the situation in our party, the Polish party in the present months, and the situation which existed up to the election. In connection with this, I have replied to the question of the role of the PZPR with the new composition of power. I am convinced that all that I have offered to Comrade Jakes is solid information. I assess our conversation as very positive. We were, above all, interested in cooperation between the two parties—we want it to have new values. We have been aware all the time of the fact that Czechs and Poles, our entire history is cooperation between the two nations. They are characterized by traditions, firmness and trust. It is difficult to imagine that we should enter the 21st century without cooperation in all spheres of economc and social life.

[Jakes] I would agree with the words of Comrade Rakowski. The view is that the talks were very useful and good. We are glad Comrade Rakowski came to Czechoslovakia at this time to exchange views on a number of questions because both our parties are interested in further cooperation. We are convinced that cooperation between our communist and workers' parties is an important prerequisite. We think it will contribute to the solution of a number of problems facing us in Czechoslovakia and in Poland.These problems concern not only party matters but also general matters such as economic cooperation, scientific-technical cooperation and international cooperation. I do appreciate this visit. It was conducted in a spirit of mutual understanding. I think we can learn from each other—from the point of view of approaches to matters and from the point of view of shortcomings which exist in our work. We can avoid these shortcomings and implement the party's policy better, so that it corresponds to the interests of peoples of our countries and so that, in the given conditions, it contributes to the strengthening of socialism and allows socialism, despite its temporary problems, to develop successfully. [end recording]

Received by Husak

LD2509205389 Prague CTK in English 1859 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and President Gustav Husak received here today First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

In the course of matter-of-fact and cordial talks they paid attention to political events in the two countries, the development of bilateral relations and some topical international issues.

The same day the first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party met Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec, who informed the Polish guest of the political and economic situation in Czechoslovakia and of the aims of the economic policy and reforms. Both politicians agreed upon the necessity of further making use of the long-standing economic, technological and communication links between Czechoslovakia and Poland in order to promote effective and bilaterally beneficial cooperation.

Cites Stance on Socialism

LD2509230689 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Let us focus in detail on the visit of Comrade Mieczyslaw Rakowski in Czechoslovakia.

[Unidentified Correspondent in Czech] Here in the Czechoslovak Communist Party CPCZ Central Committee building, talks started this morning between the highest representatives of the CPCZ and the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]—Comrades Milos Jakes and Mieczyslaw Rakowski. [passage omitted]

Mieczyslaw Rakowski was received in the afternoon by Comrade Gustav Husak. During a businesslike and cordial conversation they paid attention to the political events in both countries, the development of bilateral relations and to some topical international questions.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski conveyed to the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic friendly greetings from the president of the Polish People's Republic Wojciech Jaruzelski which were returned.

In the afternoon Comrade Rakowski was also met by Comrade Ladislav Adamec. He briefed him on on the internal political and economical situation in Czechoslovakia and on the goals of the economic policy and reforms. Both politicians agreed on the need to continue to utilize the longstanding economic, technological and communication links between Czechoslovakia and Poland for an effective and mutually advantageous cooperation. [passage omitted]

Comrades Milos Jakes and Mieczyslaw Rakowski then answered questions from Czechoslovak and Polish journalists. One of the questions reminded Comrade Rakowski of his words that in Poland renewal of capitalism must not take place. Solidarity, however, wants to privatize the state sector and to sell the Polish industry to foreign capital. Is not there a contradiction here?

[Rakowski in Polish fading into Czech translation] To want does not yet mean can, you know, Mieczyslaw Rakowski stresses. We believe that as far as socialist property is concerned, this is one of the fundamental issues, but this cannot be viewed as static. In no case do we intend to accept a policy which would lead to a sell-out of socialist ownership. Such is not only the PZPR's stand, similar steps would not be accepted by the Polish working class either. It is something else to sell, or to give an economic lease on a restaurant which has not been profitable for 40 years, but it is something else again to, for example, sell a state factory. This is quite a fundamental difference. We have excellent and productive works and factories and we do not feel the least need to sell them to anyone, Mieczyslaw Rakowski stressed.

To the further question, of what the PZPR's character would be after its just announced 11th Congress, Mieczyslaw Rakowski said that the party must emerge from the Congress as a force which recognizes the existing reality, as a party which has a corresponding program, as a party striving to regain its influence and position. The party, however, has to answer itself the question what it should be like. In any case it will stay with its deal, which is the construction of socialism in Poland, Mieczyslaw Rakowski stressed in an interview for journalists.

Comrade Rakowski, together with Comrade Jakes and accompanied by Comrade Miroslav Stepan, travelled through the historical part of Prague in the evening and stopped at Jungmann Square. They walked through the streets 28.Rijna, Na Mustku, Melantrichova to the Old Town Square. Mieczyslaw Rakowski was very much interested in the construction of pedestrian precincts which contribute to improving the city environment, and he appreciated the reconstructed valuable buildings of the Old Town Square. He also visited Malostanska underground railway station on the 'a' line.

Comrade Rakowski ended his friendly working visit in Czechoslovakia this evening. He was seen off at the Ruzyne airport by Comrades Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and other personalities.

Departs Same Day

LD2509205589 Prague CTK in English 1911 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 25 (CTK)—First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Mieczyslaw Rakowski ended today his friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia which took place at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and returned home.

At Prague Airport, decorated with the two countries' flags, the guest was seen off by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes, party presidium members Jan Fojtik and Miroslav Stepan, chairman of the Party Control and Audit Commission Jaroslav Hajn, party Central Committee secretaries Frantisek Hanus and Miroslav Zajic and party Secretariat member Zdenek Horeni.

Power Station Discussed With Hungarian Experts

LD2509175789 Prague CTK in English 1601 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Bratislava Sept 25 (CTK)—A group of Czechoslovak and Hungarian ecologists started discusing questions related to the influence on the surrounding nature of the higher water levels in the Hrusov-Dunakiliti reservoir connected with the construction of the Gabcikovo power project on the Danube here today.

According to the original schedule water should start filling the reservoir in December. The participants in the three-day talks discuss questions connected with the quality of water, anticipated changes after the reservoir is filled, and will consider also threats to drinking water supplies, as well as some toxicological and hygenic aspects.

By taking part in these talks the Czechoslovak side complied with Hungarian demands but is of the opinion that the whole range of questions have been sufficiently answered after years-long joint research connected with preparations and the construction of the power project, and the conclusions are included in the designs. From this point of view there are no reasons, therefore, to postpone putting the Gabcikovo power station into operation.

Zavadil Meets Hungarian Trade Union Leader

AU2509124289 Prague PRACE in Czech 19 Sep 89 p 1

["r"-signed report: "Talks on Cooperation"]

[Text] Prague—A working meeting of a Central Trade Union Council [URO] delegation with a delegation of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions [SZOT] was held in Prague yesterday. The URO delegation was led by Miroslav Zavadil, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium and URO chairman, and the SZOT delegation was led by Sandor Nagy, its general secretary. The delegations exchanged information on current developments in the two countries and on the current tasks of trade union organizations and they considered further possibilities of cooperation between the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and SZOT.

Turkish Reports on Bulgarian 'Labor Camps' Denied

AU2509145089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Sep 89 p 7

["SOFIAPRESS"-signed item: "An Attack on the Normalization of Relations; Another Attempt by Turkey to Misinform the Public"]

[Text] The statement by Mr. Konukman, the Turkish minister of state, that Bulgarian muslims who have returned to Bulgaria are being deprived of their apartments and sent to some kind of "labor camps" is nothing but another piece of Turkish misinformation. This was declared by Maksim Karadzhov, head of the press section at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Bulgarian People's Republic, in an interview with a representative of the SOFIAPRESS agency.

There have never been and are not any such camps in Bulgaria; returnees from Turkey are returning to their homes, to their relatives.

By means of this accusation directed against the Bulgarian People's Republic the Turkish minister of state is evidently trying to transfer to Bulgarian soil one of the most disgraceful realities of his country—the existence of prison camps for Kurds and the existence of wretched tent camps for Bulgarian citizens who have left for Turkey, the representative of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated.

These claims of Mr. Konukman's are without any substance and at variance with reality. Their aim is to sow confusion and doubts in the minds of Bulgarian citizens who are disappointed and disenchanted with "Turkish hospitality." As Maksim Karadzhov stressed, these claims aim to deter them from their intended return home.

Obzina Arrives in Moscow for Talks 20 Sep

AU2509123889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Sep 89 p 7

[Unattributed report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier, arrived in Moscow on Wednesday [20 September]. During his working visit to the USSR he will confer with Soviet representatives on some questions of deepening economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

Bureaucrats Block 'Pioneering' Soviet Art

AU2209143889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Sep 89 p 5

[Article by Karel Martinek, Prague: "Stereotypes in Cultural Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The possibility in our country of following the pioneering acts of Soviet drama remains negligible. Owing to mechanically perceived contracts and cultural agreements, the ensembles arriving in our country have been academic theaters, with productions immersed in the waters of the past. The impression arose that ministerial protection was to be accorded to theaters that have not been overly successful in Moscow in recent years. The selection of plays, consisting mostly of Soviet revolutionary drama and Russian classics, has been utterly unsuitable and the interpretation expressly academic, putting a damper on the performance of otherwise undeniably talented actors. The guest performances of such ensembles conjured up several impressions and observations, particularly the impression that the ministerial sphere wanted some theaters to relax a bit in a friendly atmosphere and to take home with them enthusiastic reviews, thanks to critics' "Chinese courtesy." Incidentally, culture editors used to be ill-disposed toward anything offending against such politeness. Also typical were fears of performances with a strong social appeal, fears which evidently existed among bureaucrats on both sides.

It is no secret that in the seventies there arose disproportionate fears of a certain type of Soviet drama, loosely called post-Vampilov drama or new wave. Czech critics who had the chance to watch such productions were full of respect and admiration. The institutions which select the plays of foreign touring companies did not share this enthusiasm, however, and to this day, the experts have not had a chance to push their view through.

The same holds true for the selection of the theater groups, with the selectors paying no heed to the movement of small experimental theater groups. [passage omitted] As a result, these theaters are admired only by audiences in Munich, London, Amsterdam, or Paris.

Years ago, Zakharov's production of Yuno and Avos was admired without exaggeration by the whole of Europe. Yet this "rock opera" was not allowed then to come to Prague and got here only 8 years later. The catalogue of such administrative absurdities is not exactly a pleasant enumeration. The Ministry of Culture of the Czech Socialist Republic may retort that the individuals upholding such positions no longer work there today. However, there also exists no evidence that the principles of cultural agreements have changed and that they have moved closer to experts' standpoints.

The USSR Union of Theater Workers has set up a commission of practitioners and theorists that is trying to influence the selection of foreign ensembles and their repertoire. Because it possesses powers similar to those of a state enterprise, it avails itself of the unique possibility to organize reciprocal performances of foreign ensembles and to generate its own foreign exchange funds. [passage omitted]

The Union of Czech Drama Artists is a budget-funded organization operating under the Czech Socialist Republic Ministry of Culture and, consequently, does not avail itself of such powers. As a matter of fact, its bureaucratic apparatus does not even seek them and

keeps repeating that "such possibilities do not exist here." In other words, it has no influence whatsoever on the selection of touring companies and their repertory.

In brief, it is possible to say that theater studios are the centerpiece of Soviet theatrical life today and that the relevant agreements should respect this fact. The selection of theaters and their repertory must not remain a purely bureaucratic affair. [passage omitted]

DPRK Minister of Culture Holds Talks in Prague

AU2509123689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Chang Chol, DPRK minister of culture and art, who is paying a working visit to the CSSR, and Milan Kymlicka, minister of culture of the Czech Socialist Republic, assessed cooperation in culture so far in Prague on Wednesday [20 September]. They also discussed specific suggestions for its further development.

Bank Director on Foreign Exchange Economy

AU2209111689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Sep 89 p 3

[Interview with Karel Hajek, general director of the Czechoslovak State Bank, by Pavel Paral: "Economic Instruments Are Having an Impact; The State Bank's Initial Experience With Self- Financing in Foreign Exchange"; date and place of interview not given—first two paragraphs are RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Excerpt] One of the first elements of the new economic mechanism that has started to operate in the national economy as a whole is self-financing in foreign exchange. Effective beginning 1 January 1989, foreign exchange retention quotas were fixed for all exporting enterprises. They determine minimum contributions to central foreign exchange resources, while the remaining foreign exchange funds earned may be used to finance the enterprises' own needs.

We have asked Eng Karel Hajek, LLD, candidate of sciences, general director of the Czechoslovak State Bank, for an assessment of the results of the first 7 months in which the principle of self- financing has been applied with regard to foreign exchange.

[Paral] How do you evaluate the fulfillment of the foreign exchange plan for the first 7 months of this year?

[Hajek] I would like to say, first of all, that the system of self-financing in foreign exchange is being applied with respect to nonsocialist countries and Yugoslavia. We awaited the results of the first half-year with some impatience because this period provides a certain perspective for the results of the entire year. The results for the first quarter of the year looked very promising. Our expectations have come true. The development of external relations with nonsocialist countries was favorable, even though in our evaluation we naturally also had to consider some negative tendencies that linger on.

The volume of exports planned for the whole year was fulfilled by 51.2 percent in the first half of the year; compared with the same period last year, it increased 17.4 percent. In terms of collection of foreign exchange, the annual plan was fulfilled by 50.1 percent. Here, too, the dynamism was remarkable, with a growth rate of 18.7 percent compared to the same period last year. The surplus in the trade balance with nonsocialist countries planned for the whole year has been exceeded by almost Kcs2 billion. We have significantly improved the foreign exchange position of the state, while simultaneously reducing somewhat Czechoslovakia's gross indebtedness in freely convertible currencies. It is true that we have also achieved this surplus by means of an economical import policy; in the first half of the year we effected only 41.2 percent of the planned annual volume of imports. Yet these imports were still 9.5 percent higher than in the same period last year. In terms of value, the national economy received greater inputs from imports than last year. In recent years we have never achieved similarly favorable results in the fulfillment of the foreign exchange plan. The favorable trend also continued in July.

[Paral] You have also referred to some unfavorable phenomena in external relations. What are they?

[Hajek] To be concise, I would sum it up as follows: The disharmony between the currency and time structure of our claims and liabilities continued. However, this fact cannot be regarded as a shortcoming of the new system because the groundwork for the crucial part of outstanding debts had been laid in the past and because of the short period of operation of self-financing in foreign exchange.

The development of the state's foreign exchange position is also negatively influenced by the unplanned indebtedness of enterprises with foreign stake in their ownership. We also must not forget the fact that some unfavorable results from last year continue to put a strain on the new system. [passage omitted]

Explosion in Komarno House Inhabited by Soviets

LD2509192189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] There was a natural gas explosion at Kasarenska Street in Komarno today in a house inhabited by the members of the Central Group of Soviet troops. The greatest damage was in the flat in which there was a nursery school. According to preliminary information, published by the Czechoslovak Press Agency, it caused a loss of lives. Other people present in the flat at the time of explosion suffered injuries of various degree. The causes of the Komarno accident are being investigated.

Enterprises To Issue Debenture Bonds

AU2509142689

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 18 September on page 4 carries a 2,000-word article by Jaroslav Klapal, director of a section at the Ministry of Finance, Prices, and Wages of the Czech Socialist Republic, entitled "On Debenture Bonds Without Illusions." The article responds to a letter from Engineer Kostiha, deputy director of the Central Bohemian Publishing Houses and Bookshops state enterprise, which RUDE PRAVO published on 18 July. In the letter, Kostiha criticized the Ministry of Finance, Prices, and Wages of the Czech Socialist Republic for having turned down the request of his enterprise to issue debenture bonds. The manager saw the ministry's negative attitude as an expression of "inflexibility in introducing new ideas into practical life" and asked whether the ministry is "serious about restructuring."

In his response, Klapal notes that his ministry is working on the problem being debated and that it expects "general rules" governing the issuance of debenture bonds by enterprises to go into effect on 1 January next year. He emphasizes that the issuance of bonds to finance enterprise needs is "a new and untested form in the socialist economy" and that, even though Hungary and the Soviet Union have been experimenting with securities for some time, "the experiences are not unequivocal." It would have therefore been irresponsible of the ministry, he says, to comply with the request of Kostiha's enterprise without considering all aspects of the problem. Klapal therefore pleads for understanding that the "preparation of principles for the issuance of debenture bonds will require some time." One of the reasons, according to Klapal, is that the issuance of bonds "has its snags, which it is necessary to foresee and prevent." An "immediate and unrestrained introduction of securities," he argues, "would mean a considerable risk for the economy."

Klapal also warns against the "illusion" that bonds can be used to solve enterprises' liquidity problems. He says that, under the rules being prepared, enterprises will be allowed to issue bonds only to finance specific and efficient development programs and not to overcome temporary shortages of money or to finance their idle stocks which the bank refuses to credit. He also warns that the interest rates are likely to exceed those for bank credits.

In conclusion, Klapal reiterates that the rules being prepared should have long-term validity, which is why they require careful preparation. Any rash decisions would be irresponsible, he says, because any subsequent changes to the rules would undermine citizens' trust in this new financial instrument.

Changes to Assembly, Association Law Outlined

AU2609105989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Sep 89 p 2

[Interview with Josef Blahoz, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, chairman of the section for human rights of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, by Rostislav Valasek in Prague on 21 September: "Protection of Public Order;" opening paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] As we have reported, the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation met for its third session in Prague on Thursday [21 September]. It discussed, inter alia, the draft principles of the laws on the right of assembly and association. The documents have the character of an initiative and are now in the stage of finalization, following the incorporation of suggestions for extra provisions or changes that were raised in the course of their assessment. After the end of the discussion on this point of the agenda, we asked Josef Blahoz, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences who heads the committee's section for human rights, for a resume.

[Valasek] What were your motives for drawing up the draft principles?

[Blahoz] We consider the existing legislation to be no longer adequate. This was also the content of the committee's letter to the CSSR premier. On the basis of an agreement with the Federal Government on our specific participation in the drafting of legislative amendments, we in the committee have drawn up draft principles of the laws on the right of assembly and association. Although these constitutional rights are guaranteed under the valid Constitution, regulations of lesser legal power—such as national committee decrees—regulate and sometimes even restrict them. Moreover, in view of the large number of sublegislative amendments, the interpretation may be comprehensible to experts but not to the majority of our citizens.

[Valasek] What is the gist of the proposed legal amendments?

[Blahoz] As to the right of assembly, we propose that a distinction be made between so-called spontaneous assemblies of citizens, which do not have a convener, and assemblies of citizens that have a convocation. As far as spontaneous assemblies are concerned, we propose a single restriction: that this right be restricted only in case of a direct and evident disruption of the public order and the security of the state. To this day there exists virtually no legal codification of such spontaneous gatherings of citizens and the evaluation of whether public order was being disrupted or not has until now been at the discretion of the security forces or other agencies. In the case of a convened assembly, the convener should announce in writing to the appropriate state body, that is, the national committee, the fact that it is taking place, its venue, and its aim at least 7 days before it is due to happen. The obligation to announce an assembly is in force even now but we propose more flexible, but also more rigorous, regulations as far as the grounds for turning down the request are concerned. In the event that an assembly is not authorized, we propose

to introduce the possibility of appealing against the decision within an established time frame, as well as the obligation of the responsible body to reply within an established time frame.

As for the right of association, we propose a considerable expansion of the possibilities compared with the situation at present, which, too, suffers from a large number of sublegislative legal norms. A solution would lie in a single legal provision that should facilitate the founding of social or special interest organizations.

[Valasek] Have you compared your conclusions with the practice in some other states?

[Blahoz] We have taken into consideration the practices followed elsewhere as well as adopted and recognized international documents. The draft principles of the two laws compare favorably with similar norms in other states and in some of their aspects, by their democratism, they go even beyond the framework known abroad.

Committee for Human Rights Holds Session

AU2609102389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Sep 89 p 2

[Rostislav Valasek report: "To Correctly Understand the Mission of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondent)—The third session of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation was held in Prague on Thursday [21 September]. At the session, members of the committee evaluated its work over the past 5 months and considered the draft principles of the law on association and of the law on assembly, which were drawn up by the committee's section for human rights.

Since the founding of the committee last December, it has received 4,600 written requests and, since 14 April, 1,060 citizens have turned to the committee in person and were provided with legal advice or information. However, as Prof Zdenek Dienstbier, the chairman of the committee, pointed out in his address, only about one-third of the written requests and complaints conveyed in person concerned problems of human rights and humanitarian cooperation as understood by international documents. Most of these involved passport and visa questions in connection with visits by emigres, family reunification, and the like. [passage omitted]

Furthermore, Z. Dienstbier briefed committee members on the approval of the committee's statutes by the Federal Ministry of the Interior, by which it became a full-fledged social organization with all the rights and obligations listed in the statutes. "The committee and its members, all of us," Professor Dienstbier said, "are a constituent part of the active and socialist-oriented segment of our society. We therefore cannot fail to react to events which have a negative character and harm our state's healthy and productive development."

The committee's growing authority is also making itself felt internationally. [passage omitted] It cooperates with the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights and is also establishing contacts with the London-based Amnesty International, another international organization involved with human rights issues. It happens, however, that some delegations are trying to lecture the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation on what it should and should not do, applying methods which are not always acceptable.

Upon the committee's initiative and within the framework of preparing a new CSSR Constitution, the Thursday session considered the principles of the draft laws on the right of assembly and association, the final wording of which, following the incorporation of comments, will be presented to the CSSR premier as background material for, and the committee's standpoint on, the new legislative codification of this issue. The Presidium has also been charged with adopting a standpoint on the legislative solution, now being prepared, to the questions of the limitation of personal freedom in the course of criminal proceedings.

In the preceding period, three new sections of the committee have been set up: a section for the rights of believers, a section for the environment, and a section for national minorities and ethnic groups. The session co-opted Emil Scuka, LLD, and Lubomir Ledl, LLD, as committee members. Lubomir Ledl was elected as deputy chairman of the committee.

Jakes Presents Award to Vaclavik 25 Sep

LD2509113189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, presented the order of the February Victory in Prague today to Vaclav Vaclavik, leading secretary of the North Moravian Regional Party Committee. This high state distinction marking his 60th birthday has been awarded to him by the President of the Republic for his many years of dedicated work for the CPCZ and socialist society.

Also attending the ceremony were Ladislav Adamec, member of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee and Federal Premier, and Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee and secretary of the Party Central Committee.

News Conference on Legal Suits Against Polluters

AU2209143589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Sep 89 p 2

["CTK, zr"-signed report: "More Severe Punishments Will Be Needed"]

[Excerpts] Prague— The state of compliance with the law in environmental care is unsatisfactory and the

standard and effectiveness of the control of observance of legal provisions by the state administration are also low. In the 1986-88 period, 50 offenders were prosecuted for criminal acts involving the pollution of waterways and water resources, and 71 offenders caused the discharge of harmful substances into the atmosphere (this number includes large-scale fires, explosions, and accidents). Moreover, Public Security Corps members investigated 113 cases of unauthorized cutting down of trees and deliberate damage to wild plants or protected animals living in the wild. [passage omitted]

Only minimal use is made of the possibility to halt the construction or close down the operation of projects which pose a threat to the environment, particularly because of the inconsistency of national committees, which do not accept many proposals made by health officers. The most frequent argument put forward is that the production of the incriminated plant is supposedly essential for the needs of the population. However, it is also a fact that only a very small number of experts on ecology who are capable of assessing such problems work at national committees, especially at the primary level.

Addressing a news conference in Prague on Wednesday [20 September—FBIS], representatives of the General Prosecutor's Office of the Czech Socialist Republic reported, furthermore, that a lawsuit on charges of bodily harm had been filed in connection with the Bustehrad dump of the Kladno United Steel Works. However, because the CSSR President's amnesty of 27 October 1988 extended also to this criminal offense, the criminal proceedings have been stopped. A number of remedial measures have been taken, however. The dump has been fenced in and a monitoring system is to be reintroduced there to ascertain leakages of harmful substances into the soil and the content of harmful substances in the air above the dump.

The number of exemptions granted to polluters of waterways has also been significantly reduced recently—from approximately 3,000 to 300.

Concern Over Declining Health Standards Expressed

AU2509105789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "From the Federal Assembly Committees"]

[Text] Prague—The 2-day joint meeting of the CSSR Federal Assembly Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations social policy committees began on Wednesday [20 September] in Prague with the discussion of a report on the consequences of working disability caused by illness and accident.

The deputies stated that last year the figures for working disability were the highest since the beginning of the 5-year plan and that differences still persist in individual regions—the lowest figure was recorded in Bratislava and the highest in the North Moravia region. Daily, 315,400 workers, on average, were absent from their workplaces and 30,700 collective farmers were absent from their place of work. The main reasons for the worsening situation are particularly poor ecological and working conditions, the increasing number of people in high risk workplaces, employees inappropriate life style, and also shortcomings in health care itself.

Vladimir Marik, CSSR deputy minister of labor and social affairs, spoke about the impact of the insufficient attention paid to people's health, an issue which, however, is not only a matter for health care workers and workers in the social sphere, on demographic development. The figures respecting the declining birth rate in the CSSR, the infant mortality rate, and average life expectancy are particularly alarming. In 1964 the CSSR was in 10th place among European states for average life expectancy, country, now it is second bottom in front of Hungary.

The deputies pointed out that despite the unsatisfactory situation in the state of working disability, the CSSR Government resolutions of 1973 and 1982 as well as the CSSR Government Presidium resolutions of 1981, resolutions which dealt with this problem, have not been fulfilled.

War Graves, Memorial Desecrated in Brno

AU2509105989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Sep 89 p 2

["(ZR)"-signed report: "The Memorial To Czechoslovak and Soviet Soldiers Is Desecrated"]

[Text] Prague—As we were informed on Monday [18 September], an unknown culprit in Brno overturned four gravestones belonging to Soviet soldiers. He also desecrated a memorial to our army's soldiers, the memorial to those who fell in the Second World War.

New Young Pioneer Chairperson Elected

AU2509104189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Sep 89 p 2

[Text] Karvina (CTK)—The 2-day meeting of the Czech Central Council of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM] Young Pioneer Organization came to an end on Saturday [16 September] in Terlicko in the Karvina district with a discussion on the further guidance of and system of education for professional pioneer workers. The meeting released Jaroslav Koutny, chairman and member of the Presidium of the Czech Central Council of the SSM Young Pioneer Organization, from his post and elected Eva Palankova, secretary of this organ to date, as its chairperson.

Honecker Makes Appearance With Envoys

LD2509133289 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] In Berlin today, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, received the ambassadors of Turkey and Zimbabwe to accept their credentials.

In the course of his conversation with the Turkish politician, the need to continue to contribute to peace and cooperation of the states was pointed out. Erich Honecker emphasized to the Zimbabwean ambassador that the GDR welcomed the incipient solutions to conflict in Southern Africa. The two politicians expressed their conviction that apartheid would be removed.

Honecker Seen on TV

AU2509184489

[Editorial report] Mainz ZDF Television Network in German at 1800 GMT on 25 September in its regular "Heute" newscast carries a 1-minute report showing Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, as he received the ambassadors of Turkey and Zimbabwe for the presentation of their credentials in East Berlin at 1030 local time on 25 September.

Honecker is seen standing unassisted, rather rigidly, in the middle of a large room, with a woman, presumably an interpreter, behind him. His complexion is pale and he looks very thin. Reporter Werner Bruessau notes that "the general secretary had been ill for 11 weeks" and "has become thin."

When the ambassadors present their credentials Honecker takes one or two steps forward, unassisted, shakes hands with them, utters a few words, and smiles. He does not show any sign of being in pain.

Honecker "will face strenuous days at the beginning of next month, the celebrations on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, on 7 October," the reporter notes in conclusion.

'Informed Circles' Say No Gorbachev Visit

AU2309155189 Hamburg BILD in German 23 Sep 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Gorbachev Does Not Want to Pay Visit to SED"]

[Text] Moscow—Gorbachev will probably not visit East Berlin to attend the conference of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] on 7 October. According to informed circles in Moscow, his visit announced by Ligachev makes "little sense at the moment."

Readers Offer Views on Refugees in Letters

AU2609110689

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 21 September on page 3 under the headline "GDR Citizens Indignant About FRG's Trade in Humans" carries readers letters (2,000 words) written in reaction to the wave of emigration of GDR citizens to the FRG via Hungary. Numerous readers point out that they also spent their summer vacation in Hungary and that they were approached by "FRG specialists" who offered to help them "join their fellow countrymen on the path toward freedom." Rainer Hentsch, of the VEB Electronics in Gera, writes for example: "During my vacation at Lake Balaton, I was directly confronted with the unleashed slanderous campaign of the FRG and its machinations toward GDR citizens in Hungary. Particularly the daily BILD, which was available on every street corner, daily carried new headlines to prove to its readers 'the GDR citizens' will to flee' and the emerging 'opportunities to escape' via the Hungarian People's Republic. Terms such as 'willingness for reform' are designed to create the impression that our state has no future. I must sharply reject this."

Latest FRG 'Provocation'

LD2109112989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0239 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The recent provocation in the Oebisfelde sector in the Klotze Kreis [district] (Magdeburg Bezirk [district]), where shots were fired from FRG territory at GDR border soldiers on the evening of 17 September, is a further link in a long chain. This was noted in a NEUES DEUTSCHLAND commentary Thursday.

The newspaper recalls a whole-page document published on 12-13 August, which included photos and short biographies of 25 people who lost their lives whilst protecting the GDR border. They were "victims of malicious attacks of a similar nature to that of last Sunday. This took place—it is worth remembering this as well—exactly 1 month after the attack on Wahlhausen in the Heiligenstadt Kreis. In that incident two men fired dozens of shots from the Federal German side of the Werra at border security installations, residences, and a church and endangered most seriously the life and health of peaceful citizens. The culprits disappeared in the darkness, to date unchecked", it says further in the commentary.

"And this time? 'There is absolutely no evidence,' said a spokesman of the Federal Border Security Unit. This statement is not surprising with regard to the identity of the perpetrator, who has surely run away. But absolutely no evidence? Such a thesis is really absurd in itself, at least with reference to the context and the background. For weeks various politicians and media of the FRG have been concerned with nothing other than defaming the socialist state, intervening presumptuously in its

internal affairs and at the same time vociferously demanding the reconstitution of the German Reich within the 1937 borders."

"Questions arise here: Do not the shots at Oebisfelde and Wahlhausen fit smoothly into just such a campaign? Can one assess them any other way than as a direct result of the climate of anticommunist hatred against the socialist German state, the climate which is thoroughly poisoned by neo-Nazis and by leading forces of the imperialist German state? Is the inability to identify the originators of the border provocations, to arrest them and to punish them, not possibly connected with the fact that too much concern is shown for wooing away and integrating citizens of the neighboring state—instead of safeguarding peace and order at one's own borders? And does not the fact that border provocateurs can apparently not be found virtually signify an encouragement to carry out further attacks," asks NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and notes:

"Incidents such as that at Oebisfelde do not make peace more secure. The dividing line between the two largest military alliances and between the two world systems is much too sensitive to serve as an object for armed provocations. We support calm and ordered conditions at the GDR-FRG state border. It must however be emphatically demanded that Bonn takes such measures without delay to prevent such criminal actions as that of Oebisfelde once and for all."

FRG Revives 'Hallstein Doctrine'

LD2309094589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0155 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND today prints the following commentary under the headline "Bonn and the Hallstein Doctrine":

Once again Bonn is making the Hallstein Doctrine the maxim of its foreign policy. At his regular new conference, government spokesman Klein attacked Indian President Ramaswami Venkataraman for not concerning himself "with our national problems" during his visit to the FRG. He did not support Bonn's position on the "German question."

During his fanatical fight against the socialist German state, FRG Chancellor Adenaeur followed the hypothesis of his State Secretary Hallstein, according to which Bonn regarded a state having normal relations with the GDR as an unfriendly act.

For a time Bonn even succeeded in persuading its allies and a series of other states to boycott the GDR diplomatically.

However, this revanchist doctrine, based on the fiction that the FRG continues to exist within the 1937 borders of the German Reich, failed miserably. The reality of the existence of two German states, the socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG, which emerged as a result of World War II and the postwar developments prevailed worldwide and is recognized in international law. This fact is not least expressed in the two states' membership in the UN.

What Bonn's press spokesman now has had the nerve to do with regard to the Indian head of state is nothing other than attempt to resurface the long-buried Hallstein doctrine and to tie down other states to being well disposed to the Federal Government's revanchist policy which endangers peace. The expectation expressed by the federal chancellor's spokesman that representatives of other states should support the Federal Republic's position on the "German question" and express an opinion on the "division of Germany" when visiting the FRG is coercion contrary to international law.

In the basic treaty on bilateral relations, both the GDR and the FRG committed themselves to following the aims and principles laid down in the UN Charter. The sovereign equality of all states, respect for independence, autonomy, territorial integrity, the right to self-determination, renunciation of threats or the use of force, nondiscrimination, and not least the inviolability of the border existing between the two states are cited. In the Helsinki Final Accords the GDR and the FRG together with the other participant states stated that they mutually respected their sovereign equality and individuality as well as all the rights inherent in and encompassed by their sovereignty. All this was reasserted in the joint communique on Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG 2 years ago.

So what does the Bonn minister's attack on the Indian president mean? First, it shows that the FRG is toying with the idea of reneging on its commitments in international law. Second, it wants to force the breach of these comitments upon other states. It is looking for support for its presumption of a "duty to care" for all Germans, for its call for the 1937 borders, and for its efforts to drag the socialist German state back to capitalism. All this clearly boils down to the removal of the basis of peace and security in Europe. To the destruction of everything which has been such a blessing for the people of our continent.

Church Official Blames Governments

AU2609142189

[Editorial report] Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German on 25 September on pages 28-29, under the headline "A German Summer Theater," carries a 2,000-word article by Manfred Stolpe, deputy chairman of the GDR Conference of Evangelical Church Directorates, in which he discusses the wave of GDR refugees.

After criticizing the Western media for blowing up the GDR refugee issue, but admitting that the pictures of "happy, young people" were "moving," Stolpe notes that the problems in the GDR have escalated. "All those who wanted to win a German and European future with reason, patience, and reliability have lost. All those who wanted to destroy the central European balance by giving rise to turbulences that almost reached the risk of

a big conflagration have won. However, the ones responsible are the governments of the two German states. Where was their strategy and where was a common crisis management?" Stolpe writes.

He continues by stressing that "actions are necessary, in particular in view of the biggest losers—the people in the GDR." He also calls for a "real change in Germany policy which is supported by the German governments and by the majority of the people and is conducive to a European peaceful order." Stolpe emphasizes that the "German-German Basic Treaty needs a German-German plan for the future, which, at the same time, is a stabilizing element of the European peace system." In conclusion, Stolpe calls for a "public dialogue" on the future in the GDR on the occasion of the 40th anniversary and asks whether the FRG Government and all parties "want to beat on the drum of reunification until everything falls to pieces or whether they might try to newly interpret the preamble of the Basic Law in line with the text."

Mongolia Offers Support

AU2209091389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Statement by the Spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Mongolian People's Republic"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar (ADN)—In connection with the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Mongolian People's Republic made the following statement:

The working people of the GDR will soon celebrate the 40th anniversary of their struggle and work to realize the ideas of socialism on German soil. During the past 4 decades of the GDR's existence, the country's communists and working people, under the political leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, have achieved great successes in building socialism. The working people are industriously laboring to give answers to the new questions and tasks that life poses today and to find solutions to them, as well as to further perfect society. The GDR's foreign policy is consistently aimed at disarmament, the elimination of the danger of war, and the consolidation of security and cooperation among the peoples. The GDR has presented a number of important proposals and initiatives. We highly assess the efforts of the socialist German state, which are directed in particular toward implementing the ideas of creating a common European home. The GDR's domestic policy is aimed at further tapping the broad economic and intellectual opportunities offered by socialism through the implementation of the unity of economic and social policy. Their consistent, peaceful foreign policy raises the country's international prestige. The worker-peasant state has a respected place in Europe and in the international community.

Recent events have confirmed that, despite these realities, certain forces in the FRG have not given up their efforts to represent all Germans. Some political forces as well as the FRG mass media are trying to deny and discredit the socialist achievements and successes of the GDR. There is no doubt that the exodus of GDR citizens from their homeland is to be seen in connection with the purposeful activities and organized propaganda of the above-mentioned forces. This cannot be considered as anything less than a violation of internationally recognized legal norms and interference in the GDR's internal affairs. It is clear that these activities are in no way conducive to advancing the European cause and to improving East-West relations.

Independence and full sovereignty of the two German states as well as the development of equal and mutually beneficial cooperation would correspond to the interests of all European states. The GDR Government is trying to discuss and solve the question of the citizens' freedom of movement within this framework.

The Mongolian public is of the opinion that it corresponds to everyone's interest when the questions that have arisen are solved by reasonable means, while taking into consideration the overall interests and not escalating the matter or blowing it out of proportion artificially.

Environmental Cooperation Discussed With Bulgaria

AU2209113289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR and Bulgaria Discuss Questions of Environmental Protection"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [18 September] Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of environmental protection and water conservancy, and Nikolay Dyulgerov, chairman of the Environmental Protection Committee at the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, discussed the expansion of scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria in environmental protection. Both partners in the talk positively assessed the results achieved so far in the longstanding cooperation and discussed steps to deepen it.

During the friendly meeting, experiences in guiding and planning the economical use of natural resources and environmental protection were exchanged. Particular interest was accorded to new tasks and projects for the further implementation of the decisions of the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The focal issues were the development and introduction of low-waste and waste-free technologies, the recycling of waste products in the national economy, the economical use of water, water protection, and keeping the air clean.

In connection with the environmental protection meeting within the CSCE in Sofia from 16 October to 3 November 1989, Minister Reichelt stressed that the GDR Government accords high importance to this

meeting. He stressed the GDR's interest in a constructive course of this conference, in line with the agreements made in Vienna. The meeting was attended by Petur Mezhdurechki, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the GDR.

During his visit to the GDR, the Bulgarian guest will acquaint himself with experiences and measures for environmental protection and water management in state organs, enterprises, and institutions of the capital city of Berlin and Magdeburg Bezirk.

Spokesman Welcomes Vietnam's Cambodia Pullout

LD2209150489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1026 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry, Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, has welcomed the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer units from Cambodia, which began on Thursday, as an important step toward a comprehensive political solution of the Cambodia issue.

The agreement between the governments of the state of Cambodia and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, which underpins the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer units, documents the determination of both states to bring about a political solution of the Cambodia question.

In the view of the GDR, this created favorable conditions for the promotion of national reconciliation in Cambodia and the necessary international guarantees for the prevention of the outbreak of a civil war, the spokesman stressed.

Now what was important was to increase efforts to exploit the change being offered to end this conflict in the interests of the Cambodian people and the strengthening of peace and stability in Southeast Asia. This also included above all the prevention of the return to power of the Pol Pot regime. The GDR will continue to support all efforts aimed at an early comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia question.

Afghan Delegation Received in National Council

AU2609114589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Afghan Delegation in the National Council"]

[Text] On Wednesday [20 September], Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the GDR National Front, received a delegation of the Justice Party of the Peasants of Afghanistan headed by Abdul Hakim Tawana, chairman of the Executive Council of this party, which is currently visiting the GDR at the invitation of the Presidium of the Democratic Peasant Party of Germany.

Lothar Kolditz briefed his guests on the comradely and trustful cooperation between the parties and mass organizations in the National Front. The president assured his guest that the National Front feels it is linked in solidarity with the patriotic forces in Afghanistan, which aspire to peace and security, and that it welcomes the progress achieved in implementing the course of national reconciliation.

Abdul Hakim Tawana thanked his host for this expression of solidarity and outlined the situation in his country. The progressive forces of Afghanistan are currently trying to end the undeclared war with a constructive and flexible policy of compromise, and to create a wide coalition government of all social forces.

Foreign Minister on Relations With Austria

AU2509214889 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 23 Sep 89 p 3

[Heinz Fahnler report: "The Entire Climate Is Influenced"]

[Text] "There have been good and fruitful neighborly relations between Austria and the GDR for a long time, even if we are not neighbors from the geographical point of view. In particular in these days events show how important such bilateral relations are," GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer said in Berlin in an exclusive interview with WIENER ZEITUNG.

Without directly mentioning the "debate on reunification," which has broken out in the FRG in connection with the wave of refugees, or the developments in the East European states, the GDR foreign minister outlined the principles of the GDR's foreign policy as follows: "We proceed from the premise of developing the best possible relations with all states that agree to this. Today bilateral relations are more important internationally than about 25 or 30 years ago, where only the two states in question were affected. Today's importance of bilateral relations lies in the fact that, if relations between two states are bad, the entire international climate is influenced," Fischer said.

For him disarmament is also a part of improving international relations. "For instance, 2 years ago we were looking into a very promising future, but now we have sobered up somewhat. After the conclusion of the INF Treaty, it was hoped that disarmament would proceed step by step, but this has not come true," Fischer said, who also referred to the Geneva disarmament talks and to the Vienna negotiations in this connection. "Nothing is moving there, substance is lacking; I wish everything would move more quickly," the GDR foreign minister said. Fischer also advocates the view that disarmament will cost as much money as the arms buildup. "We have turned our missile base in Warenshof into a recreation home and have already accommodated 6,500 vacationers this year. The alterations have cost a lot of money. The economical thing would have been not to put any missile base there but a holiday home from the

very start. Therefore, this cycle of arms buildup and disarmament has to be broken. For the GDR it is clear that we would like to join in this," Fischer noted. He calls on NATO to engage in analogous activities concerning disarmament as the Warsaw Pact states.

Referring to relations between Austria and the GDR, Fischer said that these have been good and mutually beneficial for a long time. "We are interested in maintaining them and in further expanding them, both in the economic and in the cultural fields. Our contractual relations stand on a solid basis and this also underpins political trust. I do not want to miss this," Fischer told WIENER ZEITUNG. He also referred to the lively contacts between the foreign ministers of the two states and to the regular talks between other ministers. Fischer hopes to meet Foreign Minister Alois Mock at the current UN General Assembly in New York; furthermore, Mock has been invited to visit the GDR in 1990; Nationalrat President Poeder will also visit the GDR.

There are open questions concerning the conclusion of a double taxation convention between the two states, as well as concerning negotiations on the protection of data about origin [Herkunftsdaten].

British Journalist Without Papers Expelled

LD2509194689 Hamburg DPA in German 1909 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The Bonn correspondent of the British daily newspaper THE INDEPENDENT, Patricia Clough, who went to East Berlin without accreditation papers for talks on Monday, was expelled from the city after a short stay there. The journalist said that she wanted to have talks with representatives of the Protestant church and a spokesman of the Liberal Democratic Party of the GDR (LDPD), and that she requested accreditation for this on Friday. Then, without a relevant confirmation, she entered with a day's visa and put in a request for an extension at the appropriate department of the GDR Foreign Ministry.

After some telephone calls made by her, Ms Clough says, a "head of protocal from the Palast Hotel" appeared who told her "on behalf of" the GDR Foreign Ministry that her presence was "not desired." She should accompany him to the frontier immediately. The journalist rejected expulsion by the "hotel employee" as not customary and expressed a wish to telephone the British mission in East Berlin. First this was refused "very politely," then she was able to speak to a consular official from the embassy in the presence of the "head of protocol." Then she was taken by limousine to the city center crossing-point for foreigners, Checkpoint Charlie, and was pushed through at "top speed."

CDU Presidium Rejects Outside Interference

LD2109232389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2023 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Christian Democrats in the GDR understand that creative partnership in an alliance of parties means maintaining common values that have been worked out and developing them further. The unity of continuity and renewal as a concern and program of all social forces will continue to be fulfilled in this manner, the leading body of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] states.

During a session chaired by party Chairman Gerald Gotting, the Presidium of the CDU's main executives rejected interference in matters that "only we ourselves have to attend to and be accountable for." They will not allow a path to be prescribed from outside that has to be followed to gain outside approval.

It says in a release that what has worked for over 40 years, the values created and experiences gained, is not up for grabs. It will be developed further and will thus gain in quality. New experiences have to be evaluated, new demands and challenges require the use of the still untapped potential of socialism. Proven ways will be developed further but new ground will also be broken.

The CDU main executive's Presidium resolutely rejects the antisocialist campaign, which recalls the era of the cold war, which political forces in the FRG have unleashed against the GDR. It has once more been confirmed: the FRG's clinging to positions that are untenable in international law on GDR citizenship—the presumption of a "duty to care" for GDR citizens—endagers relations between the two German states and hampers the process of normalizing them.

The release also says: The Presidium states, referring to the course and results of the latest synod of the Federation of Evangelical Churches, that trust in dealing with one another between state and church, as well as a constructive mutual relationship between the community of citizens and the Christian community to which Christian Democrats contribute much, will continue to be best promoted by the churches returning to the basis and spirit of 6 March 1978 [date of meeting between Honecker and the bishops].

At another point tribute is paid to the varied testimony of committed efforts both at work and in society by CDU members in fashioning socialism, in using its political, economic, intellectual, and cultural potential, as well as in developing its humanist character. This is expressed in security for all citizens as well as in the spirit of togetherness in tackling the problems, helping one's neighbor, in mutual respect, and tolerance.

Fines Imposed on Leipzig Demonstrators

LD2109125589 Hamburg DPA in German 0901 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR authorities have imposed fines, some of them quite appreciable, on 12 demonstrators detained after the traditional prayer in the Nikolay Church in Leipzig last Monday. They received fines in excess of DM1,000, according to information in West Berlin today. Over 100 were detained during the demonstration.

The number of those detained still being held in police custody is not known. The authorities would apparently give no information on this. Four demonstrators who were detained after the peace prayer in Leipzig on 11 September have been sentenced to 4 months' imprisonment during the past few days, on the charge of "riotous assembly." The sentence was handed down by an order of summary punishment.

New Leipzig Protest

LD2509213389 Hamburg DPA in German 2057 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Leipzig/Berlin (DPA)—On Monday evening in Leipzig police detained many participants in one of the largest spontaneous demonstrations in the GDR in years. According to informed sources in West Berlin, up to 8,000 people took part in the peaceful demonstration at the conclusion of a traditional peace service in the Nikolai Church. Many passers-by participated in the demonstration. The demonstrators demanded inter alia the legalization of the "New Forum," which filed the appropriate applications last week as a grouping independent of state and church. The group has has received over 4,000 signatures from supporters since then.

The demonstrators also support nonviolence; human rights, such as freedom of opinion and assembly; and the release of those still in custody after previous peace prayers. The names of 13 such people were mentioned before the rally in the sermon of the Leipzig clergyman Christoph Wonneberger in the overcrowded church.

It is said that security forces, who had restrained themselves, intervened in the vicinity of the scene. However, the crowd went to the Hotel Continental, where shouts of "freedom" were audible. The police again took action against the participants. According to information from the Berlin station "Radio 100" at least 50 people were detained. They were transported away in four vans and two lorries.

Two thousand people attended the church service and around 2,000 more stood in front of the building. In his sermon, clergyman Wonneberger underlined that the state does not have the right to rule by force.

After the peace prayer, the protest demonstration formed and began its march, initially unhindered. Songs such as "The Internationale" were sung and calls for "freedom, equality, fraternity" were heard. Traffic in the city center was stopped.

Entry to the Leipzig city center was refused to Western journalists in the afternoon.

Police 'Remarkably Restrained'

LD2609120389 Hamburg DPA in German 1133 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] East Berlin/Leipzig (DPA)—At the demonstration in Leipzig on Monday evening, the police and the state security service were "remarkably restrained." As was also learned from pastors and church workers on Tuesday, the number of people involved in the protest march is estimated to have been between 5,000 and 8,000. According to this information there were "relatively few arrests," probably fewer than a dozen. These eyewitnesses do not confirm reports of 50 arrests.

After the traditional peace prayer in the crowded Nikolai church, several thousand people marched through the center of Leipzig toward the station and called for reforms and freedom of opinion in the GDR. People chanted, among other things, "New Forum" and "Equality, Liberty, Fraternity."

Ministry Refuses To Register 'New Forum'

LD2509182289 Hamburg DPA in German 1736 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—On Monday the GDR Ministry of Internal Affairs ordered two founders of the opposition group "New Forum" to stop their activities immediately, but did not repeat the accusations of hostility to the state and to the constitution. As was learned in West Berlin, the signatories of the first application for the recognition of an opposition group in the GDR, the painter Baerbel Bohley and the dentist Jutta Seidel, were told at the ministry that the application that had been submitted cannot be granted. There is no "social need" for it. The GDR, the two women have been told, has comprehensive organizations for looking after people's social interests.

Kessler Says Deterrence of War to Continue

LD2209170589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1056 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Defense Minister Heinz Kessler has said that the most important concern of socialist armed forces is to continue, in line with the principles of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states and the GDR, to permit neither a nuclear nor a conventional war, and to protect the peoples and states of the socialist alliance from any kind of imperialist aggression.

The SED politburo member told high-ranking officers at a commanders' meeting today that the important thing is

still to deepen the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, and to ensure the necessary defensive capability.

Speaking of the campaign against the GDR by the FRG media and politicians, Army General Heinz Kessler said: "We will not be deterred from our successful path, and under the leadership of the party, together with all social forces, we will continue to shape a developed socialist society as a process of continuity and renewal." The GDR will continue along the path of peaceful coexistence and preserve what has been achieved through cooperation.

Former Intelligence Chief Views Reform

AU2509164489 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 23-24 Sep 89 p 10

[Interview with Markus Wolf, former head of the GDR Intelligence Service, by Olaf Ihlau in East Berlin: "Every Single Person Is Needed and Called Upon To Act"—date not given]

[Text] SZ: Mr Wolf, more than 2 years ago you resigned as head of the Foreign Intelligence Collection Main Administration of the Ministry for State Security. Do you enjoy being a pensioner or do you sometimes feel that you would like to participate in active politics—particularly in the current situation, which is not without its problems for the GDR?

Wolf: Until now I have never had the feeling of being a pensioner. My book "Die Troika," which I have recently published, has met with a surprisingly great response. This does not give the pensioner any rest. This year I have given more than 30 readings, with an average of 250-300 listeners, readings that are combined with very intensive discussions. Topical and pressing questions of our time are of course also discussed at these sessions. As far as politics is concerned I have the feeling that somehow I am more exposed to political life now than I was in my former position. I was not as immediately and directly confronted with political questions by the public before.

SZ: Are you not planning to follow the example of others who were in similar offices to yours and who subsequently changed to active politics?

Wolf: At 66 one should no longer have such ambitions.

SZ: Well, but in the GDR 66 is a young age for superior tasks.

Wolf: For me 66 is a limit. Besides, I really think that there are younger people who are able to bear great responsibility in certain offices. I think that with the founding of the socialist republic of our country, my generation and that of our fathers have made a contribution to this.

SZ: According to the official version of your retirement you resigned of your own free will and for health reasons. However, Wolfgang Seifert, a former adviser to Honecker, claims that the "Stalinist" clique of old men in the Politburo forced you "to resign" because you were in favor of reforms in the GDR along the lines of the course of Gorbachev.

Wolf: I can say with a clear conscience that this is absolutely not true. It was my own wish to resign, there were no health reasons. I wanted to dedicate myself to what has now been completed in a first version with the book "Troika."

SZ: "Troika" is the story of three families and is set against the background of tension between Moscow, Berlin, and New York over a period of 50 years. One person in this troika is your brother Konrad, who was later to become president of the GDR Academy of Arts until his death in 1982. How was the response to your book in the GDR?

Wolf: It was surprisingly big, though I could imagine that the plot itself would be received with interest and so would what I wrote in the epilogue about my brother Konrad's conflicts and problems during the last 5 years of his life. Nevertheless, I did not expect such a great response. I have been thinking about it and I have come to the conclusion that it must have something to do with the deficit that exists here as far as questions of our history are concerned. Especially among young people there is an enormous interest in history, particularly history of which one has firsthand experience, that is related in an authentic, honest, and credible way.

ST: In "Troika" one can read that politics has to become more open and understandable, and it expresses clear concern about a "dangerous stagnation" in the development of the socialist states. In the USSR, which became a "second home" for you during the years of your family's emigration in the Nazi era, quite a few things have changed since Gorbachev took power. How do you assess the developments there?

Wolf: First of all, I regard the developments there as correct and necessary. I think that Gorbachev is right when he says that there is no alternative. He also speaks of revolutionary changes and processes. This certainly explains a lot, and it fills me and others with concern. It is difficult to predict and control every detail of such processes. Changes are necessary and are part of the great subject of the renewal of socialism, which there must be in order to meet the great challenges of our time. I am convinced that the socialist social order will pass this test.

SZ: The process of opening up and relaxation in the USSR obviously also causes phenomena of dissolution. Is the growing nationality conflict threatening to blow the entire reform process?

Wolf: I do not think so, but I do not want to act as a prophet or prophesier on the basis of the developments in the USSR. I live in the GDR, in Berlin, and I am following developments from a distance—of course with

great interest. I think that the communists in the USSR will master this difficult and controversial processes.

SZ: Opening up and change by reform also determine the developments in several other Warsaw Pact states. Did the chief of the GDR intelligence service predict to his superiors 5 years ago that one of the partners in the alliance would have a noncommunist head of government before long, who, in his political thinking and work, is guided by Catholic social teachings?

Wolf: The chief of the GDR intelligence service was never responsible for the work in socialist countries. Reports and analyses on NATO states were part of my work, but I cannot confirm that these analyses were always very accurate and correct.

SZ: The Communist Parties of Poland and Hungary have renounced their absolute claim to power and truth. Is this renunciation perhaps even a betrayal of socialism?

Wolf: I really do not want to say anything about events in these countries because, and I am fully convinced off this and so is my party, each country, party, government, and people is really fully sovereign and responsible for what happens in its own sphere. One can think about it, use their experiences or not use them, follow certain developments with concern and others with sympathy. For the time being, this is not my main field of activity. However, I continue to take part in politics, I take an interest in it, and try to follow it as well as I can from my current position.

SZ: To be somewhat more theoretical: One can recognize trends toward social democracy in several reform movements in Eastern Europe. Do you think it is possible that one day this process might develop into a synthesis between reform communism and Western-style democratic socialism?

Wolf: This is a question that should be dealt with thoroughly by theorists, it is a question of the far distance. At present there are really more imminent questions. There is the well-known position paper between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]. This is certainly a basis on which talks have to be conducted, and which is a long way away from the possibilities that you mention.

SZ: The president of Hungary's Parliament, Matyas Szuros, considers his country's neutrality to be possible in the "medium-term," following the example of Austria or Finland. Where is the borderline at which the Soviet Union sees the constant aspects of its security policy endangered?

Wolf: I think that this is a question that is addressed to the wrong person.

SZ: The current GDR leadership does not think much of reforms in the way that they are being striven for in Moscow, Warsaw, and Budapest. Concerning glasnost, the GDR is playing "a very miserable role," noted Juergen Kuczynski, a rather renowned GDR economist and historian. Do you share such views?

Wolf: First of all, I am rather careful with terms. Concerning reforms, I would certainly be justified in saying that the GDR has a great lead over the FRG as regards the elimination of the political, economic, and intellectual roots of Hitler's Reich. I still consider the topic of antifascism to be very important. It is now necessary to use the possibilities that are offered by our Constitution and the laws of our socialist democracy better than is being done at present. This means increasingly giving the people the feeling that they can participate in determining and shaping the development, that they are really needed. Many are also impatient because, in their view, many things could be and have to be changed better, more quickly, or differently than happens in reality.

SZ: "A bit more courage for frankness would certainly not be detrimental to our good cause," you say in your book.

Wolf: This is my firm conviction. Now, in particular, we are discussing many questions in our country much more frankly than is often shown in your media. We are already holding a dialogue. For me it was a real experience at my lectures to see how much our people are linked with our development.

SZ: Nevertheless, people from the outside and also many citizens of your country see the GDR leadership as complacent and unwilling to have reform, as a gerontocracy that does not even seem to notice the loss of trust around it, which has been expressed most dramatically in the current wave of refugees.

Wolf: You will understand that when I discuss this I do so where I think that I can set something into motion. And this is not necessarily via your paper. However, if I want to tell your readers something about this it is the following: I feel responsible for the events in this country. For many years I have made a contribution, if you like, to the building and development of this country, like my brother and my father during the first years. If you now mention this process, which is certainly very painful and sad for us, in connection with the question of whether a very high number of young people turn their backs on socialism in our country as they see it, I do think that one should think about and discuss the reasons very thoroughly. But I do this here in the country to which I feel affinity. Of course, one must not keep silent about the fact that this spectacle, this permanent thriller, which is being continued every evening via your country's television stations, or the reunification operetta—these are terms used by one of your renowned weeklies—have a very critical effect on the overall development. As long as leading politicians in your country use such events to live their dreams of the German Reich within the borders of 1937, which have been integrated in the preamble of your Basic Law—to live them in the form of the duty to care for all Germans, no matter where they come from, I see a danger to the process of detente, which seemed to have taken a positive direction

with the Basic Treaty and the events since Helsinki. I consider these dreams of Greater Germany to be extremely dangerous. They poison the atmosphere again and again, and lead toward the cold war. This no longer fits into the international landscape. Of course, the question you asked has two sides: The internal and, from our viewpoint, the external factors play a role. There is a connection between them. I am absolutely sure that the young people who take such a step, which one cannot approve, are not aware of the grist they are putting into the political mills and how many people they stab in the back by this.

SZ: Well, the ones who leave are not the most stupid people, but active, mobile young people, who 100 years ago would probably have emigrated to America. By the way, what do your children say about the young people who do this?

Wolf: As I said, these are questions which we have to and will clear up here in our country. It is certainly not the right way for them, not a good way for them to take. In the book I write about events that took place about 10 years ago; at that time the situation involved more the creative, artistic intelligentsia, and this hurt my brother very much. However, despite all critical doubts which he, too, had, such a state never lasted long, because he was an active person and always of the opinion that one must tackle problems with one's own activity, but not by stealing away or putting oneself outside society. This is also my conviction. If we want to solve the emerging problems of socialism—which are sometimes full of disquiet—in the spirit of the times, then all the intellectual forces of society are needed, every single person is needed and called upon to act. It is important that we deal with each other in a sensible way and also listen to the opinion of other people.

SZ: But what has happened since then, what has changed? In addition to the refugees, there is the drain caused by the legal resettlers, whose number will probably reach 100,000 this year. Most of them say that the main reason for their emigration was the anger at the constant patronizing, the rigidity of the system, and a lack of opportunity for travel.

Wolf: I have already said that I do not intend to discuss the internal problems of our development with you today. But your readers should not believe that socialism in the GDR is at its end. Over the 40 years of the existence of our republic we have established solid foundations. The perhaps greatest achievement has been that in all strata of our population intelligent, thinking people have been educated, in particular young people who will master the challenge of socialism that I mentioned. This was the particularly gratifying impression at the discussions on my lectures. Of course, this involves important and complicated questions, and also contradictions, and in this respect struggle and a conflict of opinions, which I have considered and still consider to be an essential element of our development and of life in our country.

SZ: Evangelical Regional Bishop Werner Leich is convinced that the stability of the GDR is endangered by the further delay of reforms. Is this your impression, too?

Wolf: I do not want to comment on the regional bishop here. I fully share Juergen Kuczynski's historical optimism, and I feel close affinity for him. Despite everything, we can look toward the future with this optimism 40 years after the founding of the GDR. And when I spoke about dreams of Greater Germany before, with which one of the most public politicians of the FRG land where your paper is published is distinguishing himself, I would like to make a personal statement on this: I, too, and many Communists of my generation have dreams. Sometimes we dream that at some time in the future, socialism in our country may serve more strongly as an example to the followers of socialism in that part of the Germany of the past where you come from. Why should we not also have dreams?

SZ: SPD Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel has warned against unpredictable events in the heart of Europe, which may endanger the process of detente. But the SED is not talking to the SPD at the moment, as has been shown by the cancellation of the trip of the Bundestag delegation. This does not necessarily demonstrate a particular amount of self-assurance.

Wolf: There are reasons for this. The disquieting thing is that there are always relapses to the time of the cold war, when such disturbances occur. I hope and believe that these irritations will be relatively brief and that the voices of reasons, which are a bit softer now but still audible, will carry the tune and that one will return to the agenda on the path of Helsinki.

SZ: These events or processes, as you called them, have had the effect that the "German question" is now again being discussed at the international level.

Wolf: The German question exists in its historical dimension, which I classify as belonging to the region of dreams for the time being. But I think that in the form in which this is now being discussed in the FRG in the wake of the preamble to the Basic Law, it only contributes to the escalation of the situation and to those irritations that we have already discussed.

SZ: Today even Willy Brandt, who certainly is not an imperialist crusader, says that if one speaks about all of Europe one cannot pass over the German question.

Wolf: In an all-European home, if it is established, there will certainly be many rooms in which people live together. Then solutions will be found that are based on the foundations of Helsinki.

SZ: U.S. President Bush believes that the Berlin Wall will fall during his term of office. Would the GDR not be able to handle this, even if, as responsible organs estimate, up to 1.5 million citizens would leave your country?

Wolf: I think that this is purely speculation. I can only say what has been officially said many times: The border in the form that you mentioned can be changed only if the preconditions disappear which gave rise to it.

SZ: In the view of many experts, under your leadership the GDR's intelligence service was one of the most successful espionage services in the world. It must be permitted to ask which success of that time you are particularly proud of?

Wolf: I cannot say anything other than: If it is recognized that these activities contributed to securing and preserving peace in Europe for almost 45 years now, I would like to be and perhaps can be a bit proud of that.

SZ: How are Messrs Tiedge and Guillaume today?

Wolf: They are well, as far as I know.

SZ: One hears that Guillaume is living with a new wife in a "noble house" on a lake to the east of Berlin.

Wolf: This is a topic for your tabloids; I do not want to contribute to spreading any rumors.

SZ: One also hears that you would like to visit your hometown near Stuttgart, but there seem to be difficulties. Which ones?

Wolf: On the same basis on which your rulers claim the duty to care for all Germans, your country's federal prosecutor general believes he has the duty to care for me as regards those questions in connection with which I worked on the order of my government, in an office which exists in any developed country of the world. This is one such obstacle.

PEN Center Declaration on GDR Anniversary

AU2609133289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Sep 89 p 1

[Declaration of the Presidium of the GDR PEN (International Association of Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists, and Novelists) Center on the 40th anniversary of the GDR]

[Text] To Comrade Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council:

In accordance with the guidelines of the international PEN we have to remind all states of their duty for peace, to turn down racist prejudice, to reject national megalomania, and defend the freedom of the word. We have always considered the GDR a place where our principles can be implemented.

The Presidium of the GDR PEN center:

Guenther Cwojdrak, Guenther Deicke, Friedrich Dieckmann, Fritz Rudolf Fries, Stephan Hermlin, Heinz Kamnitzer, president; Walter Kaufmann, secretary general; Rainer Kerndl, Helga Koenigsdorf, Werner Liersch, Rita Schober, Jean Villain.

Leaders Attend Wreath-Laying Ceremony

LD2109172289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1032 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and the GDR Council of Ministers today honored the memory of Otto Grotewohl by laying a wreath on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his death. Together with Grotewohl's close relatives, members of the Politburo—Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Egon Krenz, secretary of the Central Committee; and Erich Mueckenberger, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission of the Central Committee of the SED—and other members of the Central Committee and of the Council of Ministers bowed before the last resting place of the outstanding German workers' leader and first prime minister of the GDR at the socialists' memorial in Berlin-Friedrichsfelde.

Enterprises, schools, numerous institutions, and collectives that bear the honorary name "Otto Grotewohl" joined in the ceremony.

Bush's UNGA Remarks Deemed 'Very Important'

LD2509224289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] [Announcer] Gyorgy Bolgar reports from New York.

[Bolgar] The U.S. President delivered a very optimistic speech at the UN, valuing highly the progress manifested in Soviet-U.S. relations, the very important role of the world organization, and, first and foremost, the spread of the ideals of freedom and democracy, at this point first highlighting and naming Hungary. I do not know how much of a role sequence has in diplomacy, but hearing them as a Hungarian, I felt that Bush's words were very important.

The spread of freedom is apparent everywhere, said Bush. Thus, in Central Europe—yes that is the label he used, Central Europe—in Hungary, where a stagnating society has swung into motion and is progressing towards political pluralism and a free market economy, where they have dismantled the barrier which once unnaturally, by force, separated Hungary from the West. Yes, they have dismantled it, reiterated the President, and they have replaced it with faith in the future.

Bush then mentioned Poland and the Soviet Union, and he also dwelt on other parts of the world, so as later to sum up developments as follows: We are witnessing the collapse of the idea of totalitarianism. In the spirit of this optimism, the U.S. President reported on the results of the most recent Soviet-U.S. talks, saying that he was very satisfied with the progress, he awaited the summit with Gorbachev, but he felt that even more important was the Soviet Union's new attitude, that it is ready to discuss frankly the most difficult issues. In conclusion, Bush made a concrete proposal, primarily to the USSR, but also to the more than 20 countries which have chemical weapons, or are able to produce them. As he said, the United States is willing, in 8 years, to destroy 98 percent of its chemical weapons if the USSR does the same. In 10 years it would destroy them all, if they sign the international agreement banning chemical weapons, and it is willing even to start destroying them now, without an agreement, if the USSR is ready to reduce its stocks of chemical weapons to the same level.

Obviously, the USSR will favorably receive the proposal; the question is whether the stocks of weapons are really the same, according to both countries.

Romania 'Apologizes' Over Border Incident

LD2509195489 Budapest MTI in English 1901 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 25 (MTI)—On September 24, Sunday, at 10.30 am. two Romanian families—four adults and three children—fled to Hungary by a tractor across the border at Bagamer. They reported at the police station that the tractor was stuck in a trench in Hungarian territory. Three Romanian soldiers caught up with the fugitives and attempted to turn one of the families back to Romania. As they failed to persuade them, they took two packages from the family.

On the initiative of the Hungarian border guards, the Hungarian-Romanian border officials carried out a joint investigation on the site. Admitting that traces indicated what the Romanian citizens said might have happened, the Romanian side apologized and promised there would be no similar event in future.

USSR Democratic Union Members Interviewed

LD2109194189

[Editorial report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 2040 GMT on 19 September broadcasts the second instalment in the series of interviews by Geza Gecse entitled: "Russian Opposition People Speak: Part Two—Liberals, Democrats, Social Democrats."

The broadcast contains conversations with members of the Democratic Union, Igor Sarkov and Valeriya Novodvorskaya. They talk about how their organization functions as a party, whose members pay membership dues, and some of whose members work full time in this capacity. According to data from May, 1989, the Democratic Union had more than 1,000 members nationally, and 200 of them were from Moscow. Sarkov and Novodvorskaya talk about their objectives: A change, free of violence, of the existing totalitarian state system, and the realization of parliamentary democracy with a multiparty system, independent trade unions and a free press. They go on to say that Gorbachev has no personal merit in perestroyka; what is now happening in the USSR is deceiving. Novodvorskaya says that perestroyka is the system's final lie: "Under the cloak of democratic slogans, the partocracy is trying to salvage its power, since force alone is not enough at present to preserve its power." Sarkov adds that for this reason, they are pursuing a political struggle, whose objective is a general political strike. They claim that they are offering more than what Solidarity offered in the early 1980s, since even when Solidarity's followers amounted to 90 percent of the Polish workers, Solidarity did not raise the issue of giving the people power and it did not change the state structure; this is why it was possible to intern the Solidarity activists so quickly.

Regarding the issue of whether the republics should separate from the USSR, Sarkov says they view, for example, the Baltic Republics as independent, temporarily occupied states, which will separate from the USSR; in the future, if they wanted to, they might join the Soviet Union in the structure of a confederation.

Gecse then asks: "How do you relate to the events in Hungary in 1956?"

Novodvorskaya replies: "In Hungary, the Soviet Union committed a grave crime against mankind and humanity. We are wholeheartedly on the side of the Hungarian insurgents. The Soviet Union had no greater

right to suppress the Hungarian national uprising than Hitlerite Germany had to annex Austria and occupy Western Europe."

While Sarkov and Novodvorskaya belong to the liberal fraction of the Democratic Union, Aleksandr Lukachev is one of the leaders of the social democratic fraction of the Democratic Union. He is the next interviewee, and he explains how common objectives unite the liberals and social democrats within the Democratic Union, yet the social democrats differ from the liberals in that they do not reject participation in the current power organs, and they want a broad coalition with every democratic force. On the other hand, the liberals believe that a new structure must be built, since the existing one cannot be repaired or renovated. During the elections, the social democrats voted for the CPSU's progressive candidates, while the liberals abstained from voting. Thus, Lukachev voted for Yeltsin.

The final interviewees are secretaries of the Russian People's Front, (Valeriy Fadeyev) and (Valeriy Kurlatov). This organization was founded in December, 1988, and to date it has 4,000 members in Moscow, where the recruiting of members got underway. Their program consists of the firm, consistent introduction of pluralism, which means that they believe in the equal rank of social, state and private property, in the economy. They believe in individual initiative. The Russian People's Front differs from the Democratic union not so much regarding programs, as regarding tactics: The People's Front does not call itself a party, nor is it a party. Indeed, according to the interviewees, the Democratic Union and even the CPSU are fictive parties, since the interests of society are not yet articulated sufficiently so as to enable the emergence of various parties. The People's Front movement is the first step toward a multiparty system; if people begin to be politicized, the creation of alternative mass parties might conceivably be a realistic issue in 1-2 years' time.

They go on to expound on how they view the events of 1917, and then explain, regarding the eventual possibility of republics wishing to leave the USSR, that they respect the right of every people to self-determination. The interview concludes with Fadeyev's and Kurlatov's views on how the CPSU is not a real party, since it does not allow for individuals to have an impact on the course of its affairs.

EC Official Comments on Possible Membership

LD2409184489 Budapest MTI in English 1735 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] Strasbourg, September 24 (MTI)—Membership in the Warsaw Treaty cannot exclude any country from joining the European Council, provided the country involved brings about a pluralistic democracy and a multi-party system, and respects human rights, said Anders Bjorck, president of the EC parliamentary general assembly in an interview to MTI.

The Swedish conservative MP thinks Hungary could become the first in the line of those becoming full-right members of the EC in the nineties.

Bjorck said he would visit each of the four East European countries granted a special status by the EC. The first country will be Hungary in November. He has just taken over the invitation from the Hungarian delegation.

Horn, Arens on Restoring Diplomatic Relations

AU2509202389 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Sep 89 p 3

["Exclusive" interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn and Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens by Laszlo L. Lengyel: "The Resumption of Relations Is Also in the Interest of the International Community"—following the signing of documents on the resumption of Hungarian-Israeli diplomatic relations, in Budapest, on 18 September]

[Text]

Horn: We Can Open A New Chapter

[Lengyel] What does the Hungarian Government expect from the resumption of diplomatic relations?

[Horn] We are putting an end to a period of 22 years, and we can also open a new chapter in our bilateral relations. As is well-known, several thousands of people of Hungarian origin are living in Israel and we have already made it possible for these people to visit Hungary. As we see, great interest about Hungary continues to be manifested not only among these people but also all over Israel. The resumption of diplomatic relations means that we can essentially start on the road leading to full-fledged relations, something hindered so far by the lack of diplomatic relations, particularly in the political area. This obstacle has now disappeared. We will be able to conduct a much more intensive dialogue on international issues, including the Middle East problems. I am convinced that this will give us an opportunity to influence Israeli policy, even if only to a limited extent, towards strengthening its peace policy elements. In this respect, the resumption of our diplomatic relations benefits not only our interests, but also the interests of the international community.

[Lengyel] Do you not fear that this step will have an unfavorable effect on Hungary's relations with the Arab world?

[Horn] We have repeatedly discussed this subject with the Arab countries, even before the opening of the Israeli interest representation in Budapest. The Arab ambassadors have been here in the Foreign Ministry today, and the Hungarian ambassadors in the Arab countries have also informed the leaders about this step. From the first reactions, one can already conclude that this step has not taken them by surprise. I would add another very important element: One should also consider the fact that

several dozens of countries have diplomatic representations both in Tel Aviv and in the Arab capitals. This does not hinder their participation in creating peace in the Middle East, nor does this hurt the interests of the Arab countries. All in all, I think that the Arab world will accept this Hungarian step with understanding.

[Lengyel] In your view, how will our socialist allies, primarily the Soviet Union, react to the resumption of the Hungarian-Israeli diplomatic relations?

[Horn] A considerable rapprochement and a certain building of contacts have begun between all our allies and Israel. I must say that the Soviet Union has even preceded us in showing serious interest toward Israel on cultural, economic, and many other levels. Thus, we are not talking about relations between countries that isolate themselves and refrain from having any contacts with each other. I think that the Soviet Union and our other allies can include this step into the new way of thinking and new foreign policy practice characterized by Mikhail Gorbachev.

Arens: We Believe in the Universality of Contacts

[Lengyel] Mr Foreign Minister! In your statement, you called the resumption of our bilateral diplomatic relations an event of historic importance. In your view, how will this step affect Eastern Europe? Do you count on further development of Israeli relations with the other socialist countries?

[Arens] By signing the protocol on the resumption of diplomatic relations, we expressed our belief in the universality of diplomatic contacts in the sense that diplomatic relations between two countries should be prepared by proper agreements and other contacts. I do not see any reason why we could not establish full diplomatic relations and generally good relations with the socialist countries too.

[Lengyel] The Hungarian-Israeli economic relations have developed quite rapidly in recent years. What possibilities do you see for further steps in this area?

[Arens] I am convinced that this favorable development process will continue. I fully believe in the mutual advantages inherent in mutual assistance between two countries and in their economic cooperation and broad relations in all the areas. I hope that everything we have done so far is only the beginning in deepening our mutual cooperation.

[Lengyel] As the foreign minister of one of the countries involved in the Middle East conflict, what is you opinion about the chances of a peaceful settlement in the area?

[Arens] Unfortunately, the settling of the Middle East crisis is an extremely slow process. We are ready to sign a peace agreement with the surrounding countries, as we did with Egypt 10 years ago. We are also ready to hold negotiations on this issue with other Arab countries. On our part, we are making efforts aimed at promoting a peaceful settling of this conflict. In this spirit, we have submitted peace proposals and we think that a favorable acceptance of these proposals by the Arab world would lead to a turning point in the peace process.

[Lengyel] You continue your travel to the United States this afternoon, and you are expected to hold important talks with your hosts there. What major issues do you expect to have talks on?

[Arens] The main goal of my visit to the United States is the same as that of my Hungarian colleague: to participate in the coming session of the UN General Assembly. As it is generally customary on this occasion, I will meet with many colleagues and with other leading figures. As for my talks with U.S. leaders, we have long-lasting and close contacts with the United States, and these contacts are characterized by continuity. We hold regular exchanges of views on various levels, just like the upcoming foreign ministerial talks, and review the widest areas of bilateral cooperation at these meetings.

Defense Minister Returns From India

LD2409162389 Budapest MTI in English 1430 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 24 (MTI)—Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, who had been in India on a one-week official friendly visit heading a military delegation at the invitation of Krishna Chandra Pant, minister of defence of the Republic of India, arrived back in Budapest on Sunday.

Student Official on New 'Janos Kadar' Association

AU2109113689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Sep 89 p 6

[Interview with Roland Antoniewicz, one of the leaders of the Hungarian-Polish Tourist Student Association, by Lajos Pogonyi: "We Are Just Emerging Now—Roland Antoniewicz Is Organizing a Janos Kadar Association"—date and place not given]

[Text] We recently heard that Roland Antoniewicz, who stirred a great storm with his speeches at the World Youth Meeting in Pyongyang, is now organizing a political association. We asked him whether it is true that he is engaged in creating a Janos Kadar Association.

[Antoniewicz] Let me first say a few words about myself. I have been engaged in journalism for 25 years, and I have always been interested in Hungarian-Polish cultural relations, but I have also written essays on astrology. My writings did not always appear under my name, but I think this is better so.

[Pogonyi] Why?

[Antoniewicz] I am afraid. The point is that the real communists are in danger because, as we put it in our declaration, there is a serious counterrevolutionary crisis in Hungary today.

[Pogonyi] If possible, please tell us more about what you mean by a counterrevolutionary danger.

[Antoniewicz] The red stars are disappearing from an increasing number of buildings, and an increasing number of people want a republic instead of a people's republic and also want to change Hungary's coat of arms.

[Pogonyi] In your view, all this means that there is counterrevolution in Hungary?

[Antoniewicz] I am not alone in thinking this. Many others do too. Therefore, we decided to regard the revolutionary traditions of the Hungarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Democratic Party, and the MSZMP as our own and to organize a Janos Kadar Association. The MSZMP is in trouble.

[Pogonyi] We feel that too, but why should one set up a special association for this?

[Antoniewicz] We will not accept the way the liquidators want to degrade the MSZMP into a socialist party. These people are agents of imperialism and are playing into the hands of capitalism by this counterrevolution they call peaceful transition. We can no longer sit and watch this idly. The MSZMP is making increasing compromises to the right wing and to world imperialism. They welcome the capitalists, who are glad to come to Hungary.

[Pogonyi] You really think so? According to our statesmen, international capital is quite reluctant to "flood" Hungary because they would like to see stable political conditions in Hungary.

[Antoniewicz] This is only how it appears. We fear that, after the Peyers, who caused the death of the Hungarian Republic of Councils in 1919, today Imre Pozsgay and his liquidators are working to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship.

[Pogonyi] In your view, there is a proletarian dictatorship in Hungary.

[Antoniewicz] Yes.

[Pogonyi] Who can be members in your association? in other words, who are you and what do you want?

[Antoniewicz] We distributed 50,000 registration slips in Budapest and in the provinces, in factories, and among acquaintances. People took them like candies.

[Pogonyi] Do you not feel that it is slightly strange for an association named after Janos Kadar to operate underground in a socialist country?

[Antoniewicz] No, because I will repeat: we are afraid. We are just emerging now....

New Society Rejected by Presidium

LD2509154989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] Presidium issued a statement today in which it dissociates itself from those who want to form a Janos Kadar Society and who, by using his name, fundamentally question the policy of the MSZMP. The Presidium considers it necessary to call attention to the fact that the Presidium, like everyone else, learned of the intention to form the society from the press.

MSZMP Prepares for Party Congress 6 Oct

Political Executive Committee Meets

LD1909224389 Budapest MTI in English 1605 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 19 (MTI)—The Political Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held its session on Tuesday [19 September]. The body held a debate over organisational and technical tasks ahead in preparation for the forthcoming party congress.

Central Committee Meeting Set

LD2409162289 Budapest MTI in English 1428 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 24 (MTI)—The Political Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has convened the session of the Central Committee for September 25th. It proposes that the body should discuss the congressional report and pass a position on the draft of the party manifesto, hear a briefing on the trilateral political coordinating talks and take a standpoint on national reconciliation.

Central Committee Holds Session

LD2509110989 Budapest MTI in English 0925 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 25 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party met in session on Monday morning.

Under the announced agenda, the body is to discuss the report to be submitted to the party Congress, the draft of the party manifesto, and a report on the trilateral political coordination talks.

The Central Committee is to also work out its position on national reconciliation.

Electoral Centers To Be Created

AU2509141989 Budapest MTI in English 1326 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, 21 Sep (MTI)—The HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] is about to launch arrangements

for its election campaign and will set up nationwide centres to serve as bases. The first election centre will open in the capital on September 26th at the Political Propaganda and Cultural Centre of the Budapest party committee. The forum will have to carry out multiple tasks with a main objective to acquaint people with the plan for the election programme. Events will be organized to ascertain the opinion of the residents of Budapest in order to finalize the manifesto.

The campaign for the presidential election is likely to begin in the coming weeks. The work of the centre will also be aimed at popularizing the HSWP candidate. At the same time, it will enable the public appearance of parliament candidates.

At the forum to be held on September 26th, the opening day of the centre, participants will have the opportunity to meet Janos Barabas and Gyorgy Fejti, members of the Political Executive Committee and secretaries of the Central Committee, as well as members of parliament, congressional delegates, and discuss the forthcoming HSWP election campaign.

Party Groups' Conferences Meet

LD2309203189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Excerpts] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress will begin on 6 October. Prior to this, party conferences are being held nationwide.

The Budapest MSZMP reform circle warmly welcomes the statement from the Social Democratic Center, which contains the intention to create a unity of left-wing forces. The reform circle movement, which was created for a radical renewal of the MSZMP, will in future do its utmost so that the MSZMP becomes suitable for such a left-wing coalition. We read this in an open letter from the Budapest reform circle which we received before the party conference.

Two delegates called on their associates, also in written form, to more focefully deal with environmental protection. A decisive majority—over 90 percent—of the delegates to the party conference are white-collar workers. Let us not forget that we must make our decisions in the interest of those who, for the most part, do not have diplomas, said one of the contributors. His remark was received with great applause. The debate indicated that some of the delegates are distrustful of preparatory work, and the distrust is also indicated by the fact that members of the Budapest Party Committee, at divergence from preliminary plans, can attend the meeting only with the right of consultation.

Since the debate is only just now beginning, it is impossible at the moment to say how many types of platforms are represented among the MSZMP congress delegates who have come to Szekszard from the five counties of Baranya, Fejer, Somogy, Tolna, and Zala. [passage omitted] The most important issue is whether to forge a new platform on a geographical basis out of this variety. Is it at all necessary to do so? According to the host, Gyorgy Janosi, first secretary of the County Tolna MSZMP Committee, it is not possible, nor is it necessary. Instead, they would like to seek what is common, points of agreement, from the various platforms, and if there is such a thing they would like to represent this at the congress to take place in 2 weeks' time.

We heard an opening speech by Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Presidium. The politician spoke about the trilateral talks that concluded recently. He believes that agreements were reached at these talks which are the most favorable possible, not from the viewpoint of the party but from that of the entire country. Imre Pozsgay said, regarding the MSZMP's draft program, that it was a decent political tool of self-identification and the (?ultimate) attempt.

The first county MSZMP conference to be held since May 1988, in the Salgotarjan sports hall, immediately became ensnared by the now customary complexities of voting, since it had emerged that only one of the members of the nominating committee has a mandate. So far, it has also emerged that, alongside the evaluation of the recent past, it is still necessary to take up the county party committee's resolution of 31 August, which contains the names of four congress delegates, on the basis of the proposal from the narrow county body, and with which the county reform circles did not agree. Two nominees signalled that they were willing to be assessed by the plenum. The others have not yet reacted, but one of the nominees came to Salgotarjan, perhaps thereby signalling his intention, and he is none other than MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz.

It has been indicated from Balassagyarmat, Salgotarjan that they propose that the mandates of party committee members be withdrawn. The party conference will also have to decide on this.

The first hour of the conference which began at 0900 in the aula of the Goedoelloe University of Agriculture was spent on deciding agenda issues. It is worthwhile pointing out that with a decisive majority of votes, the party conference rejected a proposal that county party committee members who had not been elected delegates—there are some 40 of them—be able to participate in the conference with a right to vote. After the agenda issues were finished, Csaba Hamori, first secretary of the County Party Committee, added a verbal supplement to the earlier issued written documents. It is worthwhile to mention the county opinion regarding the MSZMP program declaration, which criticizes the expression, democratic socialism. According to party members, the document does not state clearly what it is that makes democratic socialism different from bourgeois democracy. They feel it is unclear whether it is a social formation or a movement.

In Nyiregyhaza, the congress delegates from County Szabolcs-Szatmar and Bereg, are gathering their ammunition at a day-long party forum. Of course, they are discussing the draft statutes and the draft program declaration, in particular the issue of where should the MSZMP basic organizations function—at workplaces or residential areas? Many supporters and opponents of both stands have spoken. [passage omitted] The contributors said, concerning the issue of changing the system or model: It is a change of system which is necessary, from what is not socialism to socialism. The same speaker felt that democratic socialism was a hypothesis. He said that it is to be feared that we are setting something nonexistent as a target, and that this will be swept away by the opposition.

Never has a party conference begun in County Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen, where the delegates present at the beginning knew that the person giving the report would not be a member of the leading body. Yet, at the session of the County Party Committee that was held in the middle of the week, Jozsef Dudla, member of the Political Executive Committee and first secretary of the County Party Committee, announced that he would not accept a position in the new structure. At this moment, the debate on the written submission and verbal supplement is going on. [passage omitted]

Berecz Addresses Party Renewal Meeting

LD2009224689 Budapest MTI in English 2104 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 20 (MTI)—A debate was held on Wednesday [20 September], in Debrecen (E Hungary), by the movement of joining-up for the renewal of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], on the question of the political system and the constitutional state.

The debate was also addressed by Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Central Committee, who called himself "the advocate of the joining-up movement". The future fate of the movement will depend on the October congress of the HSWP, Mr Berecz said, adding that the party could renew itself with the reform programme, but it has to distance itself from both a Bolshevik type party and a reform anarchy, including those who want to give up socialism. Since the HSWP is presently going through its deepest crisis, the congress could only be successful if a central core is created, preserving the main powers, which would be able to mobilise the party. The October congress cannot be the congress of a party rift, Mr Berecz emphasized.

Free Democrats To Launch Petition

LD2409183989 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 24 (MTI)—The Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), which had not signed the agreement concluding the trilateral political talks on crucial laws, made an initiative for a referendum on the controversial questions of the talks, and is to launch a petition to this end. SZDSZ maintains that the whole people should decide on whether the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] party organizations should leave the places of employment, and if the HSWP should account for the property it owns or manages. It should be also decided by the entire nation whether the presidential elections should be staged after the free elections, and if the workers' militia should be dissolved.

Student Organization Dissolves Itself

LD2509231589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] The political organization comprised of university students, called the Union for Democratic Socialism, which was the branch organization of DEMISZ [Democratic Youth League] has dissolved itself.

The statement issued on this explains that the organization could not live up to the political goals set out at its foundation. At the same time the statement says that from the property of the organization a fund will be established for the support of student interest protection organizations operating in higher education.

'Genuine Independence' for TV Channels

LD2209192889 Budapest MTI in English 1859 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 22 (MTI)—As of March 1, 1990, TV 2, Hungarian television's second channel, is to get a totally new image, it was announced at a Friday press conference given by the new director of programmes, Gyorgy Balo. Mr Balo added that he himself cannot take full responsibility for the channel's programmes before this date.

From March 1, the two Hungarian TV channels will function with genuine independence, both from an economic and control point of view.

Gyula Bereczky, president of Hungarian Television, said that Sandor Erdi, TV's arts director, had submitted his resignation, but it had not been acknowledged. Mr Erdi was subsequently called on to work out a new editing plan. On the other hand, the resignation Laszlo Medveczky, chief editor for home affairs, submitted, was accepted. [sentence as received] Mr Medveczky gave "reasons of conscience" as the grounds for submitting his resignation, because, "I find the new system of television direction unacceptable".

Polish-U.S. Trade, Tourist Agreements Signed

AU2509135789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Sep 89 pp 1, 2

[Text] PAP—Robert Mosbacher, U.S. secretary of commerce, who is visiting Poland; Marcin Swiecicki, Polish minister of foreign economic cooperation; and Aleksander Mackiewicz, Polish minister of domestic trade, concluded two agreements between Poland and the United States on 20 September.

The first of these concerns relaxations in contacts between private enterprises, foundations, and organizations. This document was signed by M. Swiecicki and R. Mosbacher. The second concerns a development of and relaxations in tourism. This was signed by the American secretary and A. Mackiewicz.

The purpose of the agreement concerning relaxations in contacts between private enterprises, foundations, and organizations is to accord recognition to the private sector in economic and industrial cooperation between Poland and the United States.

The agreement on the development of and relaxations in tourism envisages, among other things, an expansion of mutual tourist traffic and mutual support for joint investments, the refurbishing of hotels, and the provision of facilities. The agreement also envisages cooperation in the training of highly qualified people for tourism and the hotel industry.

After the signing, there was a press conference. Asked what kind of path toward the solving of economic problems Poland should take, R. Mosbacher said that the American Government thinks Polish cooperation with the West concerning joint private investments is the most realistic and effective step.

Trade Communique Signed

AU2509140189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Sep 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—The visit to Poland by Robert Mosbacher, U.S. secretary of commerce, which was extended by a few hours, ended on 21 September with the signing of a joint communique on the framework of an agreement on economic activity between Poland and the United States. On the Polish side, the communique was signed by Marcin Swiecicki, minister of foreign economic cooperation. Tadeusz Syryjczyk, minister of industry, was present.

Ministers R. Mosbacher and M. Swiecicki agreed that the United States and Poland would commence talks on a comprehensive agreement concerning economic activity. They also agreed that the talks would start as soon as possible, and that the American side would prepare a draft document to provide a basis for the talks, which will cover, among other things, joint commitments in the following spheres: The protection of investments, the handling of investments in accordance with most favored nation status, national protection against appropriation, and guarantees of the transfer of profits. Commitments will also apply to the protection of ownership rights, trade patents, copyrights, and trade marks. The negotiators from both sides will also deal with relaxations in access to such services as advertising, telecommunications, public utility services, and finance.

It is most probable that the commitments agreed on in the communique do not cover the entire subject matter. Perhaps the Polish side will present new proposals not covered by the joint communique.

A POLISH PRESS AGENCY [PAP] journalist asked Minister M. Swiecicki what significance the joint communique has.

"It is a declaration of intent to jointly prepare an agreement between two countries that will protect the investments of American firms in Poland, which at the same time is an encouragement for foreign capital to be brought to Poland from across the ocean. We declare that we will not nationalize American investments in Poland, and that we will respect the law governing patents. Out financial activity vis-a-vis U.S. firms will proceed according to principles that have been agreed on earlier.

Representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation told the PAP journalist that one can expect the American side to present within 1 month the draft document that will provide the basis for the negotiations. Any difficulties in the negotiations will probably be caused by the details of the agreement. However, said the representatives, both sides want success to be achieved.

Mazowiecki Urges Parliamentarians' Aid

LD2309215389 Warsaw PAP in English 1928 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 23—Saturday [23 September] was the second day of the international conference of parliamentarians on the role of parliaments in economic policy. Before it wound up, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki arrived in the conference hall of the Victoria Hotel here, greeted warmly by the participants.

In a short speech, the premier stressed that the problems discussed during the conference were extremely important for the Polish nation and government which must at present solve two basic problems: overcome the economic crisis and develop democracy. Both these tasks must be solved at the same time. That is why you must help us in this respect and in the possibly most effective way, Mazowiecki told the representatives of parliaments and economic circles from the U.S. and 8 West European countries.

Addressing the participants in the conference Premier Mazowiecki said in part:

"We face two key tasks: we must rebuild the state and steer the country clear of economic catastrophe. It rarely happened in history that such two tasks had to be tackled at the same time.

"I appeal once again to you to—understanding our situation—do your utmost to assist us both in the development of democracy and in solving our economic problems."

PAP asked former U.S. Vice President Walter Mondale and chairman of the OKP citizen's parliamentary floor group Bronislaw Geremek for their opinions on the results of the conference.

Mondale said that the conference was very matter-of-fact and fruitful. He said that during the two days the participants discussed many problems of the development of democracy in Poland and tried to answer many questions pertaining to parliamentary democracy in the West. Mondale said that through this conference "we wanted to show our Polish colleagues how their parliament could function above all in such an important field as forming economic policy."

Geremek said: "I also think that this was a useful conference. We are in Poland as if at the beginning of a road to democracy. At such a moment the debates concerning the functioning of parliamentary institutions in forming economic policy is of fundamental significance."

GDR Citizens Might Emigrate Via Sweden

AU2509142389 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 25 Sep 89 p 14

[Unattributed report: "Transit Via Sweden?"]

[Text] The government in Warsaw is determined to permit the GDR refugees who are waiting to emigrate to the FRG to leave the country in the next few days. At the end of last week, it was stated in the Chancellery in Bonn that the Polish authorities were apparently striving for a solution corresponding to Hungary's example, that is, permitting the GDR citizens to go to the FRG via a third country. Transit via Gdingen harbor to the Swedish capital is being considered. While Warsaw did not make any formal promise to Bonn last week, the Poles guaranteed that no GDR refugee would be deported against his will or handed over to the East German authorities. Moreover, the Federal Government was promised a "humanitarian and pragmatic solution" to the refugee problem.

FRG Spokesman Klein on PPR-FRG Ties

AU2509174589 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Sep p 5

[Interview with Hans Klein, press spokesman of the FRG Government, by Michal Jaranowski: "The Onus Rests With the Poles"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Jaranowski] In a government declaration, Premier Mazowiecki talked about the need for a breakthrough in relations with the FRG and said "the societies of the two countries have gone much further than their governments." The need for a breakthrough is also often mentioned in Bonn. What does this idea mean to you, Mr Minister?

[Klein] Yes, it has often been voiced, but never achieved. A breakthrough, as the federal government understands it, means a new beginning for our relations, which have often been complicated and have been weighed down by a historical burden for a long time. Our membership of different pacts has always played its part. Your premier is right when he says that people have moved closer together than would be appear to be the case from official documents. Tadeusz Mazowiecki's statement is undoubtedly in tune with the views of the federal chancellor.

[Jaranowski] To put it more concretely, what do you imagine the breakthrough to be like?

[Klein] I am absolutely convinced that relations between the Germans and the Poles will resemble the state of relations that exists between the French and the Germans today. If you were to ask about a time scale, then I would say that this will happen before the end of the 1990's. All this depends to a great extent on whether the European integration processes within the EEC maintain their momentum, and thus remain attractive for our neighbors in central and Eastern Europe and on whether—and wise people on both sides have been talking about this for a long time—we manage to overcome the division of Europe. For us Germans, this also means overcoming the division of Germany. I think that a confident Poland that is free from internal tensions and is on the road to success should not have any difficulties with this problem.

[Jaranowski] No democracy can be a substitute for bread. Poland is in economic difficulties, and the FRG says that it will help, but is the cabinet unanimous in its position on this issue. Foreign Minister Genscher has proposed an extensive "Western European plan" and the chancellor's plenipotentiary, Teltschik, thinks along similar lines and has spoken about the gigantic problems facing Mazowiecki's government and that these problems can only be overcome with significant aid from the West. However, Finance Minister Waigel has been urging restraint, and saying that there should be no hurry and one should remain level-headed, because "no one knows how the democratization processes will end."

[Klein] I think that every one of these statements could have been made by any of the politicians that you have named. I can well imagine that in the appropriate context the foreign minister would say that we have to remain level-headed, because no one knows how this will end. Teltschik could say something similar. Waigel would certainly stress that we must make an effort on a

European scale to support the process of Poland's economic recovery. I do not see there being any disagreement within the federal government.

[Jaranowski] I would like to put forward another point of view. I think that these positions create a variety of foundations, different starting-points, in response to the question of what risk should be taken in supporting a historic experiment. Genscher says: The hour of truth has come, and now we should hurry up with assistance. Waigel wants things to proceed more slowly.

[Klein] Teltschik was conducting negotiations in Warsaw on the instructions of the federal government. The government includes bothe Genscher and Waigel, and both of them fully approve the negotiating line set out by the chancellor. So, there are no differences on this issue. However, if we say that the hour has come, then this is, of course, a metaphor. By the very nature of things, the greater part of the work must be performed by the Poles. It would be nonsensical, and "Solidarity" people sought to convince us of this, to provide Poland with any kind of financial credits that are not linked to concrete projects, and concrete projects will only have a chance of success when the whole system opens up, and when market economic structures are introduced.

[Jaranowski] Of course, the onus rests with the Poles, but what I am thinking of are certain auxiliary, protective measures to give us encouragement, as our journalists elegantly put it. Time is of the essence. Private businessmen are in no hurry. Can you imagine federal, state institutions becoming silent partners in investment projects or joint ventures with Poland? Ideas of this kind have been aired here for a long time with the aim of encouraging entrepreneurs to take risks.

[Klein] I think that it would be completely wrong if in seeking to limit state involvement in the economy, you were to seek state partners in other countries. Private initiative should seek private partners. That makes sense. However, if you seek out some federal institution, although it will be a partner that operates in a market system, internally it nevertheless operates according to laws that are entirely different from those in a private firm. I have heard these ideas, and I warn against them.

[Jaranowski] When will the chancellor make his almost mythical trip to Poland?

[Klein] The date remains the same. It will take place once negotiations are completed.

[Jaranowski] To be rather less vague about it, would it take place at about the end of November or the beginning of December?

[Klein] I think that that would be a not entirely unrealistic date.

[Jaranowski] Finally, with a view to achieving a fine step forward on the path toward achieving a breakthrough, can one expect the DM50 requirement to be abolished shortly?

[Klein] You have rather taken me by surprise....

[Jaranowski] Poles who travel privately to the FRG, that is, without an invitation, have to prove that they possess DM50 for each day of their stay. This means that for a 2-week period, they have to possess DM700, which is not a trifling amount.

[Klein] That is a preventative measure directed at Polish pseudo-asylum-seekers. I do not know too much about what the situation is like today. However, I think that the change that you mentioned would not lie in Poland's interest.

[Jaranowski] Why not?

[Klein] Because many people would run away, including many of those who possess initiative.

[Jaranowski] They will continue to run away regardless. It is not a question of the DM50, but of how they view their prospects in Poland, but that is an entirely different issue. Mr Minister, thank you very much.

PAP Interviews BBC Polish Section Director

LD2509174989 Warsaw PAP in English 1430 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Sept. 25—Director of the BBC Polish section Eugeniusz Smolar is staying in Poland in connection with the section's 50th anniversary. Smolar granted an interview for PAP in which he said in part: [passage omitted]

According to various data, from a dozen or so to twenty per cent of the adult population is listens to our programmes. In my opinion it is a considerable figure. The BBC has recently financed, together with the OBOP [expansion not given] poll centre, studies on the popularity of our programmes and we are impatiently waiting for the official results. Last August I presented to the management of the Polish radio a proposal on the possibility of retransmission of our hour-long evening programme. We are also thinking about other solutions concerning direct cooperation with Polish local radio stations.

Mazowiecki Addresses Diplomatic Corps

AU2509175089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Sep 89 p 2

[Speech by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at a meeting with the diplomatic corps in Warsaw on 20 September]

[Text] Ladies and Gentlemen! I warmly welcome the representatives of countries with which Poland maintains diplomatic relations.

Lately I have been encountering particularly warm foreign reaction to the events in Poland. I would like to express my thanks for that.

The government is not indifferent to what the world thinks about what is happening. The foreign climate surrounding us will be a very important factor in solving our problems.

In our foreign policy we want to be open to the East and to the West, regardless of the ideological divisions and barriers that have existed. Nothing should bar the road to European and world cooperation any more.

Our openness must take into account the existing international order and the supreme objectives which determine our national security. We are letting ourselves be guided by the principle of the inviolability of our borders. The new government will respect the treaties that are binding on Poland, and will adhere to the commitments therein.

We possess a direct interest in problems of disarmament. We will augment our efforts to bring the Vienna talks to a rapid end. However, it is already important that all military treaties and alliances apply to the external security of their participating countries, and not to their internal political and economic order.

While making political changes to the road to democracy, Poland must at the same time solve its huge economic problems. The most important such problem is the combating of inflation and the relief of the general economic tension. After that, we must thoroughly change our economic institutions so that we may adapt them to those in the developing countries,. This, we think, is the shortest way for Poland to become a credible participant in international economic exchange.

We wish to cooperate with everyone according to the principle of economic interests. Having economic links with CEMA and wishing to expand them, we are at the same time in favor of a world that is economically open. While adhering to our commitments, we wish to see to it that people and the fruits of their work freely circulate in the whole of Europe.

A major effort to lift the national economy out of its present state is in store for Poland and the Poles. We know no one will do this for us, and we do not expect anyone to. However, we do count on support for our efforts once they have taken shape.

We wish to refer to the well-conceived interests of our partners and creditors, and to their political imagination. A politically stable, in other words an economically healthy, Poland is a stepping stone to a Europe, and perhaps a world, that is free of great tension.

The protection of internal and external sovereignty is the chief principle of Polish diplomacy. We are aiming to establish a strong and stable country that contributes to the European order and to the preservation of equilibrium on our continent.

Poland will act for the sake of overcoming the divisions in Europe. Cooperation is a far better guarantee of peace than force is. We want our international activity to consolidate the European detente process that was started in Helsinki.

I attach major importance to today's meeting. I would like it to provide an opportunity for more direct talks. These talks are also a dimension of our mutual relations, and should not be restricted to mere protocol.

Please convey my regards to diplomatic representatives and all the countries they represent.

New Chairman for Polish TV, Radio on Policy

LD2509204389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] [Presenter] Andrzej Drawicz has been the chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs, Polish Radio and Television, since Saturday.

[Correspondent] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki arrived at the television building in Woronicza Street to introduce the new head of the Radio and Television Committee himself. Talking about Andrzej Drawicz, he said that he is a sensitive writer and artist. Speaking about the principles for the functioning of the Radio Committee, the premier said that is the government's intention to keep radio and television pluralistic. He was also speaking about financial difficulties and the lack of equipment—the legacy which Chairman Drawicz will not be able to change quickly!

[Begin recording[[Mazoweicki] Radio and television should not take or receive any instructions from any different directive centers other than the leadership of television [words indistinct] And we will observe this principle in its entirety. If the situation was different in the past, then as of now it cannot go like this. Television comes under the government and only from the government can it receive directives to be implemented. The same applies to the radio. Well, as far as changes are concerned, surely there will be changes, but the new chairman has to get acquainted with the job, but these changes do not mean at all that we are going to—one should not create such a climate—that we are going to replace so many of these valuable, experienced, acquainted-with-the-job employees with anybody else, because there is no such possibility, as there is no such intention.

[Urban] [outgoing chairman] Speaking frankly, I think that today control over the radio and television is assumed by other political forces than it has been so far—the forces connected with Solidarity. I think that radio and television programs became politically pluralist under my chairmanship, although their management, leadership have not reflected this pluralism. I accept your words, Mr Premier, with confidence, and hope that they will continue to be pluralist. And I would like to say that this Latin word is not understood by all radio and television viewers. For example, recently I have been flooded with telephone calls and letters: What

kind of pluralism is it when there is still Rakowski in the program; or what kind of pluralism is it when Urban appeared in the studio. And so, the word itself is not well understood by all. Therefore I wish to say that it means variety, and I wish my successor all the best. Thank you.

[Drawicz] The government which Mr Premier and the minister represent here [as said], is the government based on the widest consensus of all the Poles. And with all respect for my predecessor, I would like to say that the words he said, that basically the program is based now on the program of Solidarity, or on the stature of Solidarity, well, they are slightly narrow. If Solidarity is to be understood in the sense of the ethics, in the sense of the ethos, some broadest orientation, and thus this word may be used without the inverted commas—then, yes, of course. But maybe let's use this word without the inverted comma. But as far as all the programs are concerned, thenw we will assume the principle—and I think you will understand this—that the television and radio are the forum for their presentation; they are, so to speak, a platform for their reflection and showing, but in themselves they are in their nature of no allegiance to the party. I am not interested in the fact of your membership to any possible organizations, existing parties etc., provided that psychologically—please understand me well—you will leave your cards at the entrance, at the commissioner's desk. But here you will act in the spirit of party-free cooperation with this government which is represented here. However, I am not a person who is totally strange here. My relations with the radio and television, albeit intermittent, have lasted for a long time, from around the year 1956. Some colleagues still remember that we were seeing each other in the studio in Plac Powstancow Warszawy. And so, I know a bit of these matters—I do not claim full competence—but I see in front of me a group of experienced people, with divided competences, who will, I suppose, wish to serve me loyally with their cooperation after having listened to the words of the premier. With such hopes I assume this post. [end recording]

Senate, Sejm To 'Tackle' Budget Questions

LD2509195289 Warsaw PAP in English 1905 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 25—The Senate will meet on Tuesday to determine its stand towards the government draft law on changes in the execution of the state budget in October and on changing the budgetary law for 1989 and some other laws.

Under the present Constitution, the Senate also reviews drafts and presents its stance to the Sejm. The second point of the agenda concerns changes in the posts of Senate committee chairmen. PAP has received backdoor information that at issue are two or three senators who are taking over government posts.

The Sejm (lower house) will convene on Friday and also tackle the budget. Moreover, the newly elected Tribunal of State is to be officially inaugurated in the Sejm.

Regulski Appointed Self-Government Plenipotentiary

LD2509224389 Warsaw PAP in English 2117 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 25—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki appointed Jerzy Regulski government plenipotentiary for the reform of self-government.

Regulski, 65, graduated from the Warsaw Higher School of Technology. Professor of technical sciences. 1945-6 Imprisoned for work in the "Brotherly Help" organization. Member of the Citizens Committee (Lech Walesa's). Co-chairman of the Round Table team for self-government. Senator, chairman of the Senate Committee for Self-Government.

Married, two children, three grandchildren.

Supreme Court Revokes Verdict on Najder

LD2209202289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] The Supreme Court today revoked the verdict in the matter of Ndzislaw Najder. The Military Chamber recognized the extraordinary revision of the Supreme Court first chairman [name indistinct] regarding Zdzislaw Najder, the former chairman of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe. Najder was condemned to death in 1983 by the Warsaw Military Court in procedure in relation to those absent, for the crime of spying. Taking into account the extraordinary revision, the Supreme Court Military Chamber revoked the questioned verdict of the Warsaw Military District Court, and passed the case of Zdzislaw Najder to the Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office for the supplementation of the preparatory procedure.

Premier Mazowiecki Interviewed on Renewal

AU2509230089 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 25 Sep 89 pp 167-171

[Interview with Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Martin Pollack and Klaus Reinhardt in Warsaw: "Condemned to Success"; date not given]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr Premier, you have taken over a bankrupt state. What was the reason for you to accept all this?

Mazowiecki: The feeling that this is a historic hour for Poland, in which the two most important tasks have to be solved: restructuring the state as a democracy and bringing Poland out of an economic disaster.

DER SPIEGEL: You are a practicing Catholic. Where do you see the borderline between religion and politics?

Mazowiecki: Yes, I derive my inner strength from my faith. But I am afraid that transferring the inner strength to the political decisions is very complicated. This goes both for believers and for agnostics.

DER SPIEGEL: But where does tolerance stop for you as a Christian?

Mazowiecki: I do not think that I would be able to name such a point, such a border.

DER SPIEGEL: We want to give you a practical example. Suppose the Polish Pope in Rome would urge to prohibit abortion in Poland and to reintroduce religious instruction in the schools—how would you decide?

Mazowiecki: As bishop of his diocese, this pope always was of the opinion that one should help pregnant women so that they are not forced to have an abortion. For this purpose, he put up a donation box in his church. I answer you with this example, because I think that both the Pope and also the current church doctrine understand such problems mainly as a question of educating society and not so much as a question of dogma.

DER SPIEGEL: After the successful elections, the solidarity leadership stressed that it could take over government responsibility only if the Communist nomenklatura is abolished in within the authorities and in industry. Now Solidarity is in the government after all. What has changed in the nomenklatura?

Mazowiecki: At that time, in an argument with Adam Michnik, I advocated the standpoint that it would be better to first establish relations between our opposition and the rulers and not to enter the government. But the situation has changed and we had to draw conclusions from this.

DER SPIEGEL: What has changed?

Mazowiecki: The situation of the coalition in the Sejm. The Communists were not able to achieve a majority. The nomenklatura, however, has not changed.

DER SPIEGEL: This means that almost 1 million Communists are to remain in possession of all important offices?

Mazowiecki: The criteria of competence and loyalty have to decide this; a loyalty to the state, without consideration of who is in power at the moment. I will demand this and consistently make sure that the principle is observed. I do not intend to carry out general purges and so cause stress, fear, and aggression. Particularly since I lack an apparatus to do this. Such an apparatus has to grow with time. Furthermore, there are many valuable people in the current apparatus. In other democracies, too, the civil servants remain in office if they have the necessary qualifications—regardless of changes in the orientation of the rulers.

DER SPIEGEL: The current coalition is considered as the achievement of the workers' leader, Walesa. What about the distribution of authority between Walesa and Premier Mazowiecki? Do you get orders from Gdansk?

Mazowiecki: When I decided to accept the office of premier I very clearly discussed with Lech Walesa that the premier makes the decisions both in forming the government and in its work. Walesa has not tried in any way to interfere in my work and I for my part respect Walesa's important position in our country and among our people.

DER SPIEGEL: Thus, there is peace between Warsaw and Gdansk?

Mazowiecki: No, more than that. We see each other often, we discuss all matters. Because, you know, my work has to decide whether I can be a good or a bad premier. But I certainly do not serve as a front man, and this refers to everything.

DER SPIEGEL: Your Solidarity Citizens' Committee is comprised of very different political movements. In order to rule efficiently, one has to have some sort of political consensus within the group. How would you describe the common denominator: Christian democratic, social democratic, or syndicalist?

Mazowiecki: Clearing this up is one of the most important tasks for the near future. But it must be a very natural process, in which certain political positions adopt a clearer shape. I would not be able to say today whether these will be several reformations or just one. I suppose there will be several.

DER SPIEGEL: Does this not weaken the effectiveness of your government?

Mazowiecki: Regarding my cooperation with the group, for the time being I am in constant close contact with the chairman of the group, Professor Geremek, and from time to time with the group presidium. In this way we can coordinate our actions in a timely manner.

DER SPIEGEL: How would you describe your own political position?

Mazowiecki: I am a Catholic, who lets himself be guided by the current social doctrine of the church, which is very open, at least as I understand it.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you see the danger of a split in the Citizens' Committee in the near future? Already, there are differences between the Workers' Solidarity and the Peasants' Solidarity which feels at a disadvantage in forming the government.

Mazowiecki: I think that this has changed in the meantime. The Peasants' Solidarity provides a minister in a rather important position, who is responsible for the coordination of all activities to improve the standard of living in rural areas.

DER SPIEGEL: Then why all the excitement?

Mazowiecki: There is a problem which has nothing to do with the formation of the government, but with the fact that the traditional peasants' movement is adopting a new shape. Jozef Slisz, the leader of the Peasants' Solidarity, has just called for the founding of an independent

peasants' party. This is outside the government's influence. It is a fact that a splitting of the Citizens' Committee would cause great damage.

DER SPIEGEL: You stressed in your government statement that it is Poland's most important goal to stop inflation. In the meantime, inflation has reached about 500 percent. Would a currency reform not be more useful?

Mazowiecki: I am not ashamed to say that the premier does not have to know everything about everything. I think that this is a question which you had better ask Mr Balcerowicz, my finance minister. Above all, we do not want to cause a panic among the population.

DER SPIEGEL: Your economic expert, Minister Trzeciakowski, the chief of the Economic Council, thinks that he can fill the empty state's money chest with a state loan. Do the Poles have so much money stacked away at home?

Mazowiecki: There are a great number of signs that the society would be ready for sacrifices. I feel this myself, because many well-intended donations are given to me. Somebody sends me congratulations with a money order. Another one even calls me at home and says that he wants to give me this or that if I agree to accept it personally.

DER SPIEGEL: Emergency sacrifices for a better fatherland?

Mazowiecki: Perhaps. There is the willingness among the population to do something in view of the disaster. This also is a tradition in Poland. In connection with the current situation, the Grabski reform of 1924 has been mentioned, when the people even sacrificed their wedding rings to the improvement of the state budget. We cannot order such a readiness for sacrifices—but we must not ignore it, either.

DER SPIEGEL: But every Pole must understand that an improvement of the Polish economy is possible only with long-term deprivations.

Mazowiecki: This is why we asked ourselves—on the one hand, the readiness for sacrifices is very high, on the other, there is the danger that the illusion arises that with this one sacrifice everything has been done. Answering this question is very difficult, because the Poles have been deceived often: How should one make it clear to them that this time they are told the truth?

DER SPIEGEL: What about the list of the 150 large state-owned enterprises, which your predecessor, Mr Rakowski, wanted to close down because they are unprofitable? Will this be done?

Mazowiecki: We have to reexamine this. Without losing sight of our goal, we have to decide on the sequence of events and on measures that facilitate a retraining of the workers who lose their jobs. The way to do this has to be studied.

DER SPIEGEL: You also accept unemployment in this connection?

Mazowiecki: Yes. I also said so in the Sejm—by the way, this was the first time that unemployment was discussed in the Sejm.

DER SPIEGEL: You said several things for the first time in the Sejm.

Mazowiecki: Unemployment is not a goal for any government. It is a sad necessity. The problem is: Is it better to cover up underemployment or is it better to reveal that unemployment is a necessary consequence, particularly in connection with such restructuring?

DER SPIEGEL: FRG Foreign Minister Genscher proposes a "European plan" for the reform countries in Eastern Europe. Mr Roth, the economic expert of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, speaks of a European fund for building efficient enterprises. Would such a European Marshall Plan be a help to you?

Mazowiecki: There are many concepts that are being discussed. We are interested in getting this help very soon, interested that words are followed by deeds as quickly as possible. Unfortunately, we do not have the time to discuss this for long.

DER SPIEGEL: Which kind of economic aid would you prefer?

Mazowiecki: An agreement with the EC has just been signed. At the end of September, there will be session of 24 countries. There we will explain our standpoint. This week Deputy Premier Balcerowicz and Professor Trzeciakowski will go to Washington to an IMF conference. But not only we, but also the other side, have to chose. If a plan is worked out in the West Europe and if it can be implemented soon, we will certainly welcome such a project with satisfaction.

DER SPIEGEL: The sudden wave of refugees from the GDR is developing into a European problem. Polish newspapers have praised the Hungarian Government for the quick and courageous mastering of the problem. What will the Polish Government do?

Mazowiecki: From the state's standpoint, these are problems that have to be solved between the two German states. Burdening us with these problems causes us difficulties and can make the solution of other important problems more difficult. One has to be aware of this.

DER SPIEGEL: Apart from this, the problem also has a humanitarian side.

Mazowiecki: We are standing on the basis of the human rights treaty and we support the Helsinki agreement. We want all states to observe this.

DER SPIEGEL: According to Bonn, the German-Polish negotiations are on the verge of a successful conclusion. Chancellor Kohl's trip to Warsaw is to take place this year.

Mazowiecki: I hope so.

DER SPIEGEL: Why did the talks take so long?

Mazowiecki: This was the case in a former phase, not during my government. I am satisfied with the round of talks which has just taken place in Warsaw. Right where we now sit, I talked to Mr Teltschik—in the presence of my representative, Mr Pszon. Certain things are still open. But I hope that during the next round, when Pszon goes to Bonn, everything will be settled. And then we will think about the program for the chancellor's visit and prepare the joint statement which we want to make then.

DER SPIEGEL: The weekend before last [16-17 September] for the first time since the war, Poland publicly commemorated the September 1939 attack of the Red Army and condemned Stalin's crimes. What do you expect of the Soviet Union—is it only a question of moral restitution or also of compensation for the losses suffered?

Mazowiecki: I think that, first of all, it is very important that today both sides see the war with different eyes and condemn the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact as a crime committed against Poland. Both expectations which you mentioned exist. But I do not want to discuss this topic any further because I have not yet discussed it with our Soviet partners.

DER SPIEGEL: In your Sejm sweat-and-tears speech, you demanded additional efforts and sacrifices from the Polish people. How long will Poland's period of straitened circumstances last?

Mazowiecki: Some years, I am afraid—definitely 2 or 3. But there is the fundamental question in a case in which the situation of the people does not improve: May not there be more on the Polish table and may not society's energy be put into motion? In the end, success will depend on whether we will be able to do this. Therefore, we have to march toward two goals at the same time—first, to get out of the economic disaster, and second, to manage the democratic restructuring of the state.

DER SPIEGEL: What happens if these expectations are not fulfilled?

Mazowiecki: I am not a prophet. But it will certainly not be good. A friend told me on the phone; "We all are condemned to your success."

DER SPIEGEL: Mr Premier, thank you for this interview.

Mazowiecki Discusses Rebuilding State Prestige

LD2109223389 Warsaw PAP in English 2125 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—The first meeting of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and some members of the newly formed cabinet with viovodes was held at the office of the Council of Ministers today.

Opening the conference, Premier Mazowiecki said: "rebuilding the prestige of the state, we must rebuild the prestige of state offices and abstain from bureaucratic administering. The government does not intend to conduct a mass replacement of officials and the only criterion of their assessment will be their expertness, competence and efficient carrying out of orders."

"The state stopped to be the property of one party. The administration must fully respect the principle that it receives orders only from state organs and is responsible only before them," the premier stressed.

The premier announced also that the political role and the function of people's councils would be essentially changed and that powers of the territorial self-government would be swiftly separated from the state power. Voivodships will deal only with these questions that cannot be solved locally and have to be looked at from a broader perspective.

Local development must be determined by economic mechanisms, the premier added. The premier recognized the solving of social conflicts and the prevention of new ones an important question of the present day. This requires particularly an improvement in the food market and stimulating enterprise.

Government plenipotentiary for the reform of local self-government Jerzy Regulski said that elections of people's councils would apparently have to be held next year.

Voivodes think that the formation of the new government contributed to arousing hope and increasing public confidence. The tendency to incite unrest decreased. However, one should make proper use of this public credit by developing a logical and substantiated economic programme.

Solidarity Statement on Economic Situation

AU2509144889 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 20 Sep 89 p 1

["Statement" issued by the presidium of the "Solidarity" National Executive Commission in Gdansk on 19 September]

[Text] The economic situation in the country is marked by a dramatic decline in the standard of living. The avalanche of retail price increases for basic foodstuffs is creating a dangerous threat to the reform process.

In light of this situation, it is essential that the government take rapid action to remove the causes of this state of affairs. There is no doubt in the public mind that there is a need to introduce market mechanisms into the entire economy, whereas attention is being focused on the need to demonopolize the cooperative movement, the processing and procurement of food, and the institution of structural changes in ownership, and so on. With a view to formulating mechanisms to defend the interests of labor, the presidium of the "Solidarity" Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union National Executive

Commission calls on Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz to inform our union of the government's most immediate intentions concerning prices and wages.

Lech Walesa 21 Sep News Conference

AU2609122889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Sep 89 p 2

[Report signed "wu-zet": "Answers and Evasions"]

[Text] In the statements made at his 21 September weekly press conference, Lech Walesa showed himself to be an advocate of a Europe united by virtue of common economic, social, and political interests.

During the conference, Lech Walesa manifestly avoided giving any clear-cut answers to questions about his views on attempts to remove Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] organizations from certain workplaces, and used rather cryptic language in expressing support for the right of various political formations to be present in enterprises.

On the other hand, he was very resolute in stressing his attachment to pluralism. He said that as far as politics is concerned, he really is and wishes to remain an amateur, but that he completely subordinates his actions to efforts to maintain a balance of forces in Poland. He said that if a right wing monopoly were to gain the upper hand, he would immediately go over to the left, and vice versa.

If "Solidarity" becomes monopolistic, it will be necessary to create a counterweight to it. He said that he hoped that the resolution on political parties being drafted for debate in the Sejm will produce legal regulations that will be binding on all with regard to this question. He expressed great recognition and personal support for President Jaruzelski's proposal that a body for national accord on the most important issues facing the country be set up during this current period of reform.

Noting that this would elicit unfavorable comments from his supporters, he said, during the conference, that the PZPR, if it maintains its current reform course, has a very great chance of being able to present society with the most coherent and attractive solution and program for Poland's political and economic future. He said that although it was regrettable from his perspective, the party has the best program, because it has a concept that has been formed over a long period of time, an apparatus that functions reasonably well, and specialists who are capable of implementing the provisions of such a concept.

Paris Daily Interviews Swiecicki on New Policies

PM2509142089 Paris LIBERATION in French 13 Sep 89 p 5

[Interview with Foreign Trade Minister Marcin Swiecicki by Dominique Garraud; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [introductory passage omitted] LIBERATION: What are the priority acts of your policy?

Marcin Swiecicki: We must, first, establish an economic recovery program that will be approved by the IMF, which is necessary for the normalization of our relations with the West. Next, we must move toward a fully convertible zloty at an exchange rate that will depend on the implementation of our entire economic program and especially the elimination of poverty. Last, we are depending on foreign investors. We must secure credits guaranteed by governments, but it must also be known that Poland offers great opportunities for western firms, with its qualified and inexpensive labor force.

LIBERATION: What is your model?

Marcin Swiecicki: The government's general approach is to achieve a market economy with a fully convertible currency. I greatly admire the Swedes. In Sweden the market economy and private ownership go hand in hand with a great sense of responsibility in the social sphere.

LIBERATION: Does this mean that in Sweden you would belong not to a communist party but to a social democratic party?

Marcin Swiecicki: Of course. My sole aim is to achieve social democracy in Poland. This issue is prompting a lively debate within the Party. But the Party has already accepted parliamentary democracy and private ownership. It is ready to abandon the idea of its "leading role" over society. We are moving in the right direction.

LIBERATION: Will these changes also affect perestroyka?

Marcin Swiecicki: Not all the administration's officials are incompetent. Nor are they all competent, for that matter. It is the system that is to blame. There have been too many political appointments, and this has resulted in a bankrupt economy. The Party too believes that changes are needed. We still need more democracy.

Spokesman on Alternative Military Service

LD2209170889 Warsaw PAP in English 1317 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 22—About 1,500 persons are doing alternative military service at the moment, Defence Ministry spokesman, Lieutenant Col. Ireneusz Czyzewski has told PAP. This fact shows that a great majority of young Poles are fulfilling their defence duty in the traditional form of regular military service according to the principles of the U.N. international pact on civil and political rights.

The alternative service takes place ouside the armed forces and is directly supervised by the minister of labour and social policy who also chooses the enterprises where those interested may serve. Regional conscription commissions issue decisions on alternative service after considering written requests of the young conscripts.

According to the labour law persons doing alternative military service are not employees because their legal status is determined by the law on "the obligation to

defend People's Poland. They are not eligible to organise or join trade unions. At the same time their enterprises have duties in relation to those serving, such as, free food or money equivalent, wages, overalls or equivalent, free accomodation.

There are also requests to have the alternative service cut short. I think that parallel with the shortening of the regular service, which is expected in 1991, this question will also be settled. The problem of sole family earners doing alternative service will be thoroughly examined soon. We can expect that most of them will be exempted from service.

Apparently, Czyzewski added, all problems connected with the alternative military service and dealt with by the Defence Ministry, although involve rather small number of people, are being tackled honestly and in accordance with the existing law. We are interested in having this duty done smoothly and without conflicts," he said.

Rakowski Addresses Katowice Party Aktivs

AU2509154389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Sep 89 p 1

[Report on speech by PZPR First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski at a meeting with PZPR aktivs in Katowice on 20 September]

[Text] Addressing the assembled Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] aktivs, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski said that the 11th PZPR Congress should decide what kind of party the Polish left wing will have and what its program and structures will be. But even that is no guarantee that the party will make a new name for itself immediately afterward. What the party needs right now is a revival of political thinking. It is wrong to ask what to do or expect instructions from above.

There is no turning back from the party reforms, M. Rakowski said. The growing debate inside the party on the subject of its future fills one with optimism. It is necessary to welcome the "8 July Movement" and similar movements. There is no reason to shout at each other and condemn each other, for that does not abolish the need for debate.

In the past, we have expelled many intellectuals from the party, M. Rakowski continued. Now we should make good that loss, because a new political group requires an intellectual base.

The personal commitment of party members is more important than the number of party organizations in existence, said M. Rakowski. There will probably be fewer of us after the congress, because those who joined the PZPR just to further their careers are now waiting for an opportunity to discard their membership cards. Neither can one rule out the fact that people who adhere steadfastly to the principles of Marxism and Leninism will want to create their own party, which they might consider to be the "only true party." Time will show what kind of role such a party will play, although nothing will revive old, worn-out slogans. Those who fail to understand that will continue to shout accusations that we are selling out socialism, even though no buyers are visible.

M. Rakowski said that it is unlikely that the 11th congress will take place this year, if it is to be properly prepared for the role it will play. It would be good if every party organization without exception were to present the congress organizing commission with its own conclusions and recommendations. This material, properly edited and supplied to congress delegates, would be a good way to discover the opinions of the rank and file.

Rakowski Addresses Krakow PZPR Members

AU2609121889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23-24 Sep 89 pp 1, 2

[Stanislaw Zielinski report on a speech by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at a meeting with members of the Krakow PZPR organization in Krakow on 22 September: "Progress for Certain, Democracy for Certain"]

[Text] The first secretary addressed a whole range of issues, devoting the greater part of his attention to problems concerning the congress.

He said: "I cannot speak on behalf of the entire party, but I think that this will be the last PZPR congress, because the new political formation that will undoubtedly emerge during the course of the debate preceding the congress and at the congress itself will adopt a new name. What kind of party will it be? There are more than 20 different kinds of proposals in circulation today. 'Social democracy' is the word that crops up more often than not. It elicits surprise in some and prompts suspicions of heresy in others. However, what we have to do is to treat the issue in a more objective manner and bear in mind the traditions of the Social Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania."

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski said: "This is linked to taking a broader view of the entire Polish left and to recognizing the fact that a certain model of socialism as well as a certain stage in communist party activity are at an end. Even if there is lot of uncertainty about the future, there is one thing about which there would appear to be no doubt: We will not get very far with the kind of party that we have today, with its structure, and with the kind of thinking that has become so deeply ingrained in it. Change is inevitable."

The Central Committee first secretary concluded: "That is why, although we want the congress to take place as quickly as possible, I think it highly unlikely that the congress could be held earlier than the middle of February next year. I personally believe that every party organization should play a part in its preparations. Grassroots observations and proposals concerning programmatic

expectations and the form that structures should assume provide an opportunity to find more appropriate solutions for tomorrow and to invigorate primary party organization activity today. This is the purpose of the poll, in which we address the entire party."

Referring to the events at the "Kazimierz-Juliusz" mine, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski reiterated the position that he has already expressed publicly: A general, rather than case-by-case, solution to this problem should be found, and the law on political parties should help in finding such a solution. A draft law has already been drawn up. However, will it be put before the Sejm soon? That is a difficult question to answer, because it is not known whether all the forces represented in our parliament are interested in this issue to the same degree.

In the future, however, means whereby the party can influence communities other than through the workplace will have to be found, and this will require appropriate preparations. Today, there is a lack of forms for the conduct of party work in residential areas.

The first secretary said: "However, do we know where we are heading? This is a key question concerning our vision of socialism that is being asked by many party members, and that is a good thing. Whoever thinks about this issue is right. Fortunately, we do not find ourselves in a complete theoretical vacuum in this respect. We will definitely proceed toward democracy, toward progress, and, above all, toward combining national interests with working people's dreams of and eagerness for a wise form of social justice, but it is also certain that we will not proceed toward the restoration of capitalism in Poland."

Schaff Receives Back Party Membership

AU2509122189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] PAP—The Presidium of the Central Party Auditing and Control Commission [CKKR] of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], acting on the basis of the decisions of the Seventh CKKR Plenum, has deemed it necessary to reconsider the decision to expel Professor Adam Schaff from the PZPR made by the adjudication body of the former Central Party Control Commission on 27 June 1984.

Following a painstaking examination of the case and of Adam Schaff's most recent writings, and after weighing them against the decision of the former Central Party Control Commission, the CKKR Presidium decided to revoke that decision and restore Adam Schaff's membership of the PZPR.

The CKKR Presidium said that Adam Schaff's expulsion from the PZPR was a violation of the freedom of discussion, dispute, and criticism in the party, especially on the subject of ways of building socialism in Poland. Neither did the decision to expel him encourage the search for new form of party functioning in a changing sociopolitical reality.

The CKKR Presidium said that Professor Adam Schaff's attitude shows him to be inseparably connected with the leftwing movement, and illustrates his support for the PZPR's policy of renewal.

The CKKR Presidium said that Adam Schaff's writings, including "The Communist Movement at the Crossroads" and other works, especially those produced since 1981, should be the subject of scholarly debate, and not a reason to impose party discipline on their author.

The CKKR Presidium shared the view of, among other things, the primary party organization of the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of Polish Philosophy and Sociology whereby Adam Schaff had the welfare of the country and the future of the communist movement on his mind.

The CKKR Presidium asks Professor Adam Schaff to employ his knowledge and experience in the shaping of a party program as part of the preparations for the 11th PZPR Congress.

Miodowicz: OPZZ To Consider Forming New Party

LD2509202389 Warsaw PAP in English 1946 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Lublin, Sept. 25—Addressing a meeting of trade union activists of the Chelm, Lublin, and Zamosc voivodships in Lublin, Southern Poland today, Chairman of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] Alfred Miodowicz spoke about the role of the OPZZ unions, stating in part:

"We were in the opposition towards the previous governments and we are in the opposition towards this one. Perhaps this will change when we get acquainted with the program of the government's economic activities.

"Many were surprised by the OPZZ statement announcing that we do not consider the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] a political guarantor of the interests of the working people. I think that we ourselves must be the guarantor. We cannot separate from the PUWP because out of the 2 million members of that party, 1.5 million are in our ranks. We must reckon with their opinion.

"At the same time we are thinking about winning over our own political supporters. Various talks are being held with various political forces. Soon we will organize a meeting of left-wing intellectuals at which we will discuss the possibility of setting up a party. I can state already today that were we to go ahead with this we would be backed by one of the most renowed people of the left in the world, Prof Adam Schaff."

Slisz Announces Formation of New Peasant Party

AU2509144689 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 21 Sep 89 p 1

[Statement issued by Jozef Slisz, head of Private Farmers' "Solidarity": "'Solidarity' Polish Peasant Party"]

[Text] Jozef Slisz has sent our editors the following statement:

"A turning-point in Polish history was marked by 4 June and 12 September. Half a century of destruction is being brought to an end, and we are opening a period of rebuilding the country.

"We are inheriting a state that has been ruined: This product of 45 years of communist rule also affects an area of vital importance for the nation, that is, food. Immediate changes have to be instituted in agriculture. However, it is a dangerous illusion to believe that this can be accomplished by a reformed United Peasant Party; this Stalinst creation that was formed by the Polish United Workers Party in order to wage a struggle against private farming. The recovery of the countryside will not be effected by people who previously worked in a way that was to its detriment.

"More than 40 years have passed since the dissolution of the Polish Peasant Party. People can be killed, but not ideas. The idea of independent representation has survived in peasant hearts and minds. Christian values have given us the strenth to resist, and it is thanks to this that we have survived.

"Eight years ago, Private Farmers' 'Solidarity,' as the rightful heir of the Polish Peasant Party, commenced a struggle for independent representation.

"Today, the countryside views the future with trepidation. It does not feel that it is benefitting from the superficial 'deregulation.' It is following the various parliamentary reshuffles with surprise. Hope is fading. In light of this situation, after much thought, I have come to the conclusion that we have to establish our own political organization. This is because peasant interests have to be defended in two areas today: the economic and union area, and the legal and political area. That is why I have decided to support action aimed at establishing a 'Solidarity' Polish Peasant Party.

"The crisis in the countryside has become a political problem that calls for united action on the part of all groups and all active people.

"Our party, based on 'Solidarity' and guided by the social teachings of the church, should become a forum for all the independent forces that are operating in the country. That is why we are not closing the door to anyone who wants to cooperate with us in working to promote prosperity and democracy.

"Issues pertaining to the development of Poland's agriculture and countryside are not the exclusive domain of farmers. Agriculture is a vitally important part of the economy and one that determines the standard of living of all the people of Poland. Thus, the issue is a national one, and the party that we create must have peasant roots, but it must also have support in both town and country and in colleges and factories. This party must bring together people who possess imagination and understand the problem of feeding the country in terms of a broader context, as part of the national wealth.

"A key issue facing us is that of the form of regional self-government. This depends on the way we organize ourselves, our commitment, and our unity. The initiative displayed by every township and village counts. Only the 'Solidarity' Polish Peasant Party can dismantle the monopoly. I believe that the 'Solidarity' Polish Peasant Party can contribute to the creation of a civic society."

Poznan ZSL Urges Adoption of Former Party Name

LD2509204289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Members of the voivodship United Peasant Party [ZSL] committee in Poznan have decided to revert to the ideological and programatic principles of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL; a party that existed until 1949]. It was also decided to adopt the name PSL. The resolution states: We are convinced that the reborn PSL will become the only force uniting all the hitherto reformatory currents in the peasant movement.

An appeal was included in the document to all ZSL cells and echelons for them to adopt the name of the Polish Peasant Party. Dominik Ludwiczak, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, took part in the deliberations.

Enterprise Liquidation Official Interviewed

PM2609090889 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 31 Aug 89 p 4

[Interview with Janina Wieslawa Krol, government plenipotentiary for the workforces of enterprises under liquidation orders, by Interpress correspondent Teresa Kwasniewska; date, place not given]

[Text] [Kwasniewska] You have been dubbed "the enterprise liquidation minister"...

[Krol] This is definitely a mistake; I do not think that, for example, workers at the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard call me that. But let us be serious. Matters concerning enterprise liquidation or change of profile for the sake of economic efficiency, carried out within the framework of economic restructuring, lie within the competence of their parent agencies. My brief, on the other hand, is chiefly to coordinate the implementation of tasks related to employment and social welfare problems of workers who lose their jobs as a result of enterprise liquidation. It is

worth noting that we have no experience in dealing with these complex personal situations.

This is a novel phenomenon in the socialist countries. In Western countries it is a common occurrence, but not all the solutions employed there can be automatically reproduced in our circumstances.

[Kwasniewska] True. Individual decisions to liquidate an enterprise used to be a rare occurrence. Now, in the new economic situation, they are to become common practice.

[Krol] Precisely. Liquidation of certain enterprises will become an institutional element of the Polish economy in the late eighties. To date, some 40 enterprises have been closed down for economic, technological, ecological, and other reasons. The process of restoring the Polish economy to health, introducing structural changes in its system, and continuing the departure from a monopoly-based system will call for increasing numbers of such unpopular decisions.

[Kwasniewska] Of course, we all understand this. But when it comes to a situation where an employee finds himself suddenly confronted with the harsh reality of losing his job, he is bound to treat it as a great and undeserved injustice.

[Krol] Yes, and this is where I enter the scene. Economic considerations and exigencies are but one side of the coin. The other side is precisely the need to protect the interests of work forces and give them the assurance that their social welfare entitlements will be guaranteed through the provision—in the transitional stage—of material and working conditions as closely comparable as possible to those of their previous employment.

[kwasniewska] This sounds a comforting note. But sentiments are not taken into account in the labor market.

[Krol] This is why we approach all these problems on an individual basis, taking into consideration the realities of the Polish labor market today. It is not possible to apply standard solutions here. Besides, for the time being we are not threatened with unemployment. For many years now those seeking work have been in a position of advantage over those offering it. More than 300,000 jobs are vacant at the moment, while the number of job applicants does not exceed 7,000. This state of affairs guarantees full employment—but often on condition that the applicant requalifies, changes his job specialization, or retrains for another job. Let us consider shipyard workers with specialized job qualifications. Despite the fact that there are more than 30,000 work vacancies in the coastal regions, some of them will have to requalify if they want to stay in the region and keep working. Of course, we try to offer people not just any kind of work but jobs compatible with their qualifications or at least closely related to their previous type of employment.

We are also looking for other solutions. One of these is the aforementioned opportunity to retrain. This applies to all levels of employment. We are creating opportunities for qualified workers, technicians, or even chartered engineers to train in new or related jobs whenever they encounter difficulties in finding work locally in their own profession.

[Kwasniewska] Who finances the training schemes?

[Krol] The state, through the Employment Incentive Fund [FAZ]. According to the labor and social policy minister's new decree of 22 March 1989, training courses can last up to 12 months. Chartered engineers can do 12-month postgraduate courses. During all that time the employee will receive benefit payments equal to the remuneration he received at his last workplace. There is also the possibility that employees of liquidated enterprises who remain unemployed could receive benefit payments of no less than 40 percent of the average wage in the socialized economy. So far nobody has been willing to avail himslf of this benefit, which is understandable if you consider the aforementioned labor market as well as the galloping inflation.

[Kwasniewska] But let us consider the situation of an elderly person with only a few years left before the retirement age limit who goes to his local employment agency and can find there only vacancies for fit and healthy persons under 45...

[Krol] This is only partially true because there are enterprises which seek to employ highly experienced personnel. It is enough to scan the job advertisement pages in the papers. But, of course, it is very hard for elderly, often unfit and tired people to start afresh in a new, sometimes completely different job. For such cases there is the option of early retirement. Those eligible for it are men after 40 years' employment and women after 35 years' employment, regardless of their age. Employees who are not more than 5 years below retirement age can also opt for early retirement provided that they have worked for at least 20 years (women) and 25 years (men).

[Kwasniewska] In view of the existing manpower shortage, is this not something we can ill afford?

[Krol] This is precisely why, to encourage employees to continue working, we have introduced certain restrictions on the early retirement option. Thus, for each year short of the statutory retirement age the employee's pension will be reduced by 3.5 percent of his base retirement pay. So if a person opts for early retirement 5 years before his statutory retirement age, his pension will be reduced by 17.5 percent of his base retirement pay.

[Kwasniewska] Compensatory lump sums are also a kind of intervention measure. Who is entitled to receive them?

[Krol] This compensation for financial and psychological hardship suffered by employees whose enterprises have been liquidated is paid to all full-time employees and those part-time employees who have no other means of support. For instance, a mother or father caring for an invalid child and, consequently, only able to work part

time. Generally, however, lump sum compensation is paid to employees who have worked at least 12 months in the given enterprise. Employees with 1-5 years' service are entitled to the equivalent of 2 months' pay, those with 5-10 years get 4 months' pay, and those who have worked more than 10 years in the enterprise are entitled to the equivalent of 6 months' pay. But restrictions apply even here. For example, employees of state enterprise associations can receive compensation only if the associations have sufficient financial resources.

[Kwasniewska] What guarantees are there that the employee will get a job that will pay as much as the previous one?

[Krol] This is a rhetorical question. In my experience there have been no cases of people only able to get lower paid jobs.

[Kwasniewska] We have been talking about material compensation. But there is also the phenomenon of employees' attachment to and affection for their workplace. Suddenly, their place of work is no longer there and they are left high and dry. What compensation can there be for this kind of emotional loss?

[Krol] You have touched on an extremely important issue. From my personal experience in dealing with these matters I can say that we often fail to realize just how attached people can become to their workplaces. What an enormous asset and potential this represents! When we talked to the shipyard workers, we often heard such statements as: "Even if I were offered compensation several times over, I will not leave the shipyard." Do we make sufficient use of this tremendous involvement and attachment felt by employees for their enterprises? This is a subject for a whole separate debate.

[Kwasniewska] Clearly, women employed in enterprises designated for liquidation are in a particularly difficult situation.

[Krol] It is true that in certain regions it is difficult to guarantee satisfactory alternative jobs which would, first and foremost, offer the women the same pay levels they had before the liquidation of their enterprises. The difficulty is compounded by the lack of professional qualifications that could help the women find different employment elsewhere. There is no difficulty with jobs in the retail sector, the health service, or various branches of the services sector. In order to take up employment in industry it is often necessary to requalify. Training courses can mean difficulties with travel arrangements and are hard to reconcile with domestic duties. Among other things, we are trying to educate training course organizers to consider all those difficulties when planning their courses.

[Kwasniewska] There are dozens of different kinds of obligations which tie people to their workplaces. For example, housing loans, service dwellings, and so on. Who takes over the task of sorting out these obligations, squaring and closing the accounts?

[Krol] These matters are sorted out by enterprises themselves according to existing regulations. For example, as regards loans granted to employees by enterprises, the last word lies with the enterprise loan and benefit scheme. In cases involving membership of housing cooperatives, the decision rests with the housing cooperative scheme, and so on. All these concerns will be taken into consideration and new solutions sought when the act on housing and social welfare funds comes up for revision.

[Kwasniewska] Since liquidation of certain enterprises is to become an institutional element of our economic, financial, and social policy, presumably there are plans to introduce major institutional solutions in this sphere?

[Krol] To do this, it will be necessary to change the legislation by altering several fundamental laws and to find resources to meet the costs of providing social welfare and legal and economic protection for employees who find themselves in the labor market through no fault of their own. Consequently, these solutions should be reflected in, among other things, the Labor Code, the employment act, the act on old age pension provision for employees and their families, the aforementioned act on housing and social welfare funds, and many others. For the time being we are implementing ad hoc solutions.

Session With PRC Commission Concludes

AU2109183589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1456 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 21/9/1989—The tenth session of the Romanian-Chinese Government Commission on Economic and Technological Collaboration concluded in Bucharest, on September 21.

The stage of the bilateral economic relations was analyzed, as well as the way of fulfillment of the decisions and tasks established during the Romanian-Chinese summit meetings, the evolution of the mutual goods deliveries. New ways and means of action were also singled out, conducive to the amplification of the economic, technological and scientific cooperation in domains of mutual interest, such as machine-building, electronic and electrical engineering, chemistry and petrochemistry, building materials.

The protocol of the session and the long-term accord between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the People's Republic of China on the deepening of the economic, technological and scientific collaboration were signed by the chairmen of the commission for the two countries Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister of Romania, and Zou Jiahua, state councillor, minister of machine-building and electronics.

Wang Jinqing, Bucharest ambassador of the People's Republic of China, attended.

UN Ambassador Stresses Economic Cooperation

AU2109184189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1450 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 21/9/1989—The importance attached by Romania to initiatives on an international plane pursuing the organization of an international conference with an as large an attendance as possible, both from the developing countries and from the developed ones, that should allow for the continuation of the dialogue, open the prospect for a new impetus to strengthening interstate cooperation for their economic development was emphasized by Romania's ambassador to the UN, Petre Tanase, at the committee on the analysis of the technological cooperation among the developing countries holding proceedings at the New York headquarters of the UN.

In that context, it was shown that Romania rates the economic cooperation with the developing countries among the factors of utmost importance of its foreign policy. It is from that stand that Socialist Romania tried to ensure the steady expansion of the links on multiple planes, including economic, with all developing and non-aligned countries, and as close as possible cooperation with them, both on a bilateral plane and in the various international fora. It was highlighted that a concrete expression of those constant preoccupations was the fact that Romania concluded over 100 accords of economic and technological cooperation with the developing countries. Based on bilateral accords, Romania participates in actions of cooperation in a large number of countries as supplier of technological equipment for industry and agriculture, in building infrastructures, in supplying technical expertise in domains in which the Romanian experience is well-known and appreciated.

Likewise, Romania's ambassador advanced a string of proposals for increasing the contribution of the committee and strengthening its role in the system of UN organization's efforts for development.

Delegate Addresses Geneva Meeting on Nuclear Ban

AU2109195789 Bucahrest AGERPRES in English 1809 GMT 21 Sep 89

["Romanian Address in Geneva"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Geneva AGERPRES, 21/9/1989—At the third conference, held in Geneva, on the assessment of the enforcement of the treaty banning the emplacement of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons in the sea beds and ocean floors, the Romanian representative stressed that the object and purposes of that conference fell within the broader context of the efforts for halting the arms race and achieving disarmament, nuclear above all.

He presented Romania's stand on the complete elimination and banning of the mass destruction weapons, nuclear, chemical radiologic and of other nature, in all milieux, the radical reduction of the conventional weapons, of the troops and military expenditures, under strict international control. He emphasized the need for extending the system of check up and control stipulated in the treaty, for stimulating the efforts toward the reduction of arming in seas and oceans.

Considering that in spite of the treaty provisions the arms race, the nuclear one in particular, went on, gaining wide scope especially in the naval domain, the need was stressed that the conference should endorse most committing documents [as received] that should open prospects for concrete steps toward the complete demilitarization of the sea beds and ocean floors, of the maritime areas generally, the halting of the arms race in the naval milieu, starting with the gradual reduction down to complete elimination of the nuclear weapons in sea and ocean areas.

Considering the ever more instances [as received] of accidents of surface battleships or submarines carrying nuclear weapons or devices on board, proposals were advanced for a drastic reduction of drills by surface ships and submarines carrying nuclear weapons.

Emphasized in that context was the positive contribution that could be made to the promotion of the treaty targets by the creation of denuclearized zones in various maritime regions and the necessity was stressed that the

UN should encourage the establishment of such zones in as many parts of the world as possible.

Giosan Meets Egyptian President in Cairo

AU2109200589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1739 GMT 21 Sep 89

["Exchange of Romanian-Egyptian Messages at Top Level"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Cairo AGERPRES, 21/9/1989—On behalf of Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, and of Mrs Elena Ceausescu a warm message of salute and the best wishes of good health and personal happiness were conveyed to President Husni Mubarak and to Mrs Suzanne Mubarak, along with wishes of progress and prosperity for the friendly Egyptian people.

Warmly thanking for the message, President Husni Mubarak requested that President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu should be conveyed the most sincere wishes of good health and happiness and the friendly Romanian people wishes of welfare and progress on behalf of Mrs Suzanne Mubarak, as well as on his own behalf.

The messages were exchanged when the Egyptian head of state received a Romanian parliamentary delegation led by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly [GNA], who are paying a visit to Egypt upon an invitation extended by that country's parliament.

During the talk conducted on the occasion, emphasis was placed on the meetings and understandings with the Romanian president, which laid the solid foundations for the development of relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples, of their cooperation in the international life, which were opened broad prospects. [Sentence as received] Egypt's president had words of appreciation for the Romanian people's remarkable results in its socioeconomic development.

Aspects of the international life were approached and high appreciation was expressed for Romania's foreign policy, for President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiatives and actions for a just and lasting political solution to the various states of conflict among states to the Middle East issues, included. [Sentence as received] Romania's principled, consistent stance was underscored in support of a settlement of the situation in that area and President Nicolae Ceausescu's tireless activity was brought to the fore for the establishment of a climate of peace, understanding and cooperation throughout the world.

In that context, President Husni Mubarak pointed to the productive collaboration between Romania and Egypt in the international arena, which is set on the two countries' identical stances on the ways to solve the major problems of the contemporary world.

The Romanian parliamentary delegation had interviews with the speaker of the People's Assembly, Rifa'at al-Mahjub, with the speaker of the Shura (advisory) Council, Mustafa Kamal Helmy, and with other Egyptian members of parliament.

Ceausescu Greetings to Israel CP on Anniversary

AU2509093789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Sep 89 p 5

[Telegram from President Nicolae Ceausescu to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel on that party's 70th anniversary]

[Text] To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel,

On the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Israel, I extend to you and all Israeli Communists warm comradely greetings and cordial congratulations, on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party and myself personally.

The Romanian Communists and the working people of the Socialist Republic of Romania follow with great empathy the activity of the Communist Party of Israel devoted to defending the basic interests of the working people and achieving the Israeli people's aspirations for social progress, democracy, and peace.

We express the conviction that the relations of friendship, cooperation, and solidarity between our parties will further strengthen and develop, in a spirit of equality and of mutual esteem and regard, in accordance with the interests of the Romanian and Israeli peoples and of the cause of independence, security, peace, and cooperation in the world.

Dear Comrades, on this festive occasion, we wish you new and important successes in implementing your party's program and in your activity devoted to the well-being, prosperity, and happiness of all working people.

Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party

Slovene Central Committee Meets, Notes 'Pressure'

AU2609092289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia has met today to discuss preparations for this afternoon's session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia regarding the amendments to the republican constitution.

Ciril Ribicic, Presidium member, gave the introductory speech. Among other things, he repeated the well-known stands of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Slovene League of Communists. He assessed that the federal organs are exerting pressure on Slovenia in order to discipline it. He opposed the interference of others in the sovereign right of Slovenia and the imposition of views that are different to those that represent the will of the Slovene people. He demanded that the Slovene delegates in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia defend the Slovene amendments at the session scheduled for this afternoon.

As we speak, Miran Potrc, president of the Slovene Assembly and the Slovene Constitutional Commission, is on the rostrum. He is explaining the most important stands and conclusions from yesterday's session of the Constitutional Commission.

Ribicic Speaks on 'Interference'

AU2609103689 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 0900 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] We begin our program, which is otherwise devoted primarily to economic subjects, by reporting from the small hall of the Slovene Assembly where the 30th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia began 1 hour ago.

Milan Kucan said in his introduction that he begged the members to excuse such a sudden summons to the session. He added that they were convinced on Friday that reason would prevail, but this did not happen because a session of the federal Central Committee would be held in Belgrade this afternoon which would discuss the ideopolitical aspects of the proposed amendments to the Slovene Constitution.

Marjan Rogelj reports from the Slovene Assembly:

Ciril Ribicic was next to address the Central Committee members. Let us first state that the session is intended as a consultation, or rather as a means of issuing guidelines to our representatives in the federal Central Committee on how they should act and what they should advocate with sensible arguments at the session this afternoon.

Ribicic proposed that at the session, they should act actively in a dignified way. Above all they must point out the extremely dangerous and negative consequences of the present interference in the adoption of the Slovene constitutional amendments. Before we hear a portion of Ciril Ribicic's speech, let us also say that Miran Potrc, member of the Central Committee, also spoke, reporting on the work of the Constitutional Commission yesterday. The commission polished up the constitutional amendments, not by changing their substance but in such a way that they allow of no different interpretations.

And here is what Ciril Ribicic said, among other things:

[Begin Ribicic recording] The organization of the Slovene Communists in its founding manifesto at Cebine stated that it makes available all its powers to its people, and that it expresses an unshakable loyalty to the Slovene people. This was the orientation that made a fateful contribution to the fact that the Slovene people, in the midst of the national liberation struggle and revolution, as the Kocevje assembly noted, conclusively joined the circle of sovereign peoples and that the Slovene republic arose as a state within the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] federal community of equal peoples and nationalities united on a voluntary basis

Those were the times when the Constitution of the People's Republic of Slovenia, adopted in 1947, was allowed in its Article 2, which is to say in its normative part, to state explicitly the right of the Slovene people to self-determination, which includes the right to secession and association.

This is not all. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia had earlier taken a very clear position that self-determination is the right of every people, won by arms and protected as the most sacred right and achievement of the national liberation struggle and revolution.

It is known that in 1942, Tito made assurances that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had never renounced, and would never renounce, the principle that every people possessed the right to self- determination, including the right of secession.

It is superfluous in this connection to quote Kardelj's views before, during, and after the national liberation struggle. They consistently refer to self-determination as a necessary foundation and condition of the firmness and success of the Yugoslav federation, and not as an obstacle or threat to its firmness.

These are the views which, as one of the most significant positive traditions, are a strategic precept of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and at the same time the foundation of the valid principles of the SFRY Constitution as regards the relations in the federation built on the decisive responsibility of the republics for their own fate and the joint Yugoslav development.

The proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia try additionally to protect this constitutional position of each republic, including the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, against opposite interpretations and an opposite practice. Therefore these amendments cannot disturb those who are truly worried about respect for the spirit and the letter of the present

SFRY Constitution, but they may disturb others who have tried at every step to discredit this Constitution and its deceased authors and to present it as a counterrevolutionary act, and who demand that its essential federal principles be abolished, explaining that these principles represent confederal elements in its system.

We Slovene Communists are convinced that Yugoslavia is not being destroyed by those who demand additional guarantees for the respect of equality, independence, and responsibility of its peoples and republics, but by those who wish to reshape the AVNOJ Yugoslavia contrary to the basic principles of the present SFRY Constitution. A socialist, democratic, and federal community of the peoples and nationalities, and their republics and provinces, has been and remains the first choice for the Slovene Communists, but only as a community of peoples voluntarily joined and of equal rights, and not as a community in which the Slovene people would have to surrender themselves to the tender mercy of more equal, bigger, or more meritorious peoples and republics.

The difference in the manner and the substance of the federal state and political organs between the time when the changes in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia were concerned and now when changes to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia are concerned convinces us that this is a grand offensive of the striving to reshape the Yugoslav federation in such a way as to impose its views on whole peoples and republics regardless of the stands and the views of the people, and of the political and the highest state organs of these republics.

If this were not so, the amendments that seek to strengthen the constitutional position of the republic would not be criticized as an attempt to destroy Yugoslavia, as separatism, as endangering the integrity of Yugoslavia, as counterrevolution, and as endangering the stability of the country.

We must not let ourselves be provoked by such fomenting of dissatisfaction, and we must state calmly, with good arguments, and in a dignified way that with the proposed constitutional amendments we want to strengthen the foundation without which the Yugoslav federation cannot become a more modern and efficient joint state of equal peoples and republics. Therefore the solution lies not in reshaping the Yugoslav federation, which would intensify dissatisfaction and a feeling of being threatened and exploited by each of its parts, but in a resolute implementation of the set reforms of the economic and political systems and in abandoning the remnants of a Party state or the Party constitutional law.

One does not need to be a profound connoisseur of the Slovene situation and Slovene public feelings to recognize the absurdity of the latest accusations that bureaucratic-statist, nationalist, separatist, and anti-Communist forces back the proposed constitutional amendments. We must clearly state that a logical consequence of the stand that the proposed provisions do not express the opinions and views of the Slovene people and all the citizens of Slovenia would be to demand a referendum to check the provisions. But the intention is obviously not to take into account or to promote the real will of the Slovene nation and of the people of Slovenia, but to prevent the implementation of the undisputed majority view of the Slovene Assembly, of its constitutional commission, and of the entire Slovene public.

One cannot reach this goal in any other way but by replacing the existing state and political organs of Slovenia by a different team, or to put it more clearly, an anti-people regime which, directed from the outside, would work against the explicitly and clearly expressed stances in the public discussion on the draft amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

There can be no doubt for this Central Committee that the Slovene Communists will resist such a development of events, which runs counter to our revolutionary tradition and our (?obvious) historical responsibility. [end recording]

Slovenia Not To 'Concede an Inch'

AU2609115089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Speakers in the debate at the session of the Central Committee of the Slovene League of Communists, after the introductory speech by Ciril Ribicic and the explanation of the stands of yesterday's session of the Slovene Constitutional Commission which were presented by Miran Potrc, have given their support to the energetic defense of amendments to the republican constitution. Vlado Janzic, Franc Setinc, Janez Kocijancic, Bozidar Debenjak, Stanko Kosar, Martina Kolar, Bogo Gorjan, and Milan Kucan have spoken in the debate.

There was emphasis on the demand that Slovenia does not concede even an inch to outside pressure or unitaristic tendencies. Thus, Franc Setinc, for example, stressed that people who supposedly defend Yugoslavia are working at creating a third Yugoslavia. Bozidar Debenjak thought that a campaign is being conducted against Slovenia which has recently been stoked up the most by Borisav Jovic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency.

In the opinion of Stanko Kosar, this is a battle for the defense of a democratic Yugoslavia and its development. He considered that if this battle is lost then this would be the end of the state and the destruction of the principles of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and the equality of peoples and nationalities.

Martina Kolar proposed that the Central Committee of the Slovene League of Communists define the limits to which the Slovene representatives at this afternoon's session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia can sit at the session and endure pressure. Milan Kucan added to this that this afternoon's session is

in fact unprepared and was called because of serious accusations in the press against Slovenia.

The session is continuing.

Presidency Wants Slovene Amendments Postponed

AU2509185589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] The adoption of some amendments to the Slovene Constitution in their unchanged form would place a question mark over the carrying out of the duties of the federation as established by the SFRY Constitution. This was again stressed by the SFRY Presidency.

It is necessary to make additional efforts in order to overcome the newly created situation. This is why the SFRY Presidency has proposed that the newly created situation be discussed by the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly. At the same time, the SFRY Presidency has proposed to the Slovene Assembly to postpone the adoption of the controversial amendments for some time. The SFRY Presidency emphasizes its resoluteness that in the case of a collision of constitutional norms of any member of our federation with the SFRY Constitution, the provisions of the federal constitutions will be applied consistently on the entire territory of Yugoslavia.

Central Committee To Discuss Slovenia 26 Sep

AU2509185989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia today decided that a session of the Central Committee be held tomorrow to discuss the ideopolitical problems created by some proposed amendments to the Slovene Constitution. The session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will be held in the Sava Center in Belgrade at 1600.

Slovenes Boycott Debate on Constitutional Amendments

LD2609124989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1214 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—By a majority vote, members of the SFRY Assembly's Commission for Constitutional Questions today decided, after a polemical discussion, to debate the draft of some of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution. The view prevailed that the Commission for Constitutional Questions has the right to consider the proposed amendments, not only because it is empowered to do so by the Constitution, but also because, as a working body of the Federal Assembly, it is obliged to submit a report on its work to the Federal Chamber, which is meeting this afternoon.

In the view of the Slovene representatives, the Commission for Constitutional Questions does not have the constitutional authority to give "preventative" assessments, in light of the fact that, according the the SFRY Constitution, it can only launch proceedings for an assessment of their concordance with the Federal Constitution in the Constitutional Court after the adoption of the amendments. Hence the Slovene representatives in this commission will not be participating in the essential debate on the draft of some of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution.

Potrc Views Slovene Constitution Changes 20 Sep

AU2009164389 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] A press conference on changes to the Slovene Constitution was held in the Slovene Assembly today. Miran Potrc, president of the Assembly and president of the Constitutional Commission, answered questions by some 40 domestic and foreign journalists. The reasons for holding the conference were the great interest of our own public and the foreign public in the events connected with the changes in the Slovene Constitution and the many recent requests for interviews addressed to Miran Potrc. If he wanted to fulfill all of the requests, it would take him several days to do so. Janko Saradzen reports on the press conference:

Of course journalists were not interested merely in the legal aspect of the Slovene constitutional changes, but they were also interested in other events, and above all in the political pressure and the possible consequences that accompany the Slovene constitutional amendments.

The journalists of MERIDIANO, IL PICCOLO, and many others were particularly interested in knowing whether anybody can prevent the adoption of the constitutional amendments, whether the intervention of the Army was possible, who intends to secede in Slovenia, what the position of the League of Communists will be at the next elections, whether the Slovene constitutional changes block the discussions about a new constitution, what Potrc thought about the stances of the SFRY Presidency, and many other things.

Miran Potrc replied that the Slovene constitutional changes arose from the express demand by the people for economic and political changes and their striving to make social life more democratic. He stressed that according to our constitutional system, constitutional changes are decided upon exclusively by the Slovene Assembly delegates and that this provision was adopted in the 1974 Constitution on purpose and not by accident. In this way, the principle is stressed that Yugoslavia is possible only as an equal community that takes into account the will and the interests of its peoples and nationalities.

If we adopt the Constitution in the legal constitutional way, Miran Potrc added, it is not serious to think that the Army—which he has confidence in—may intervene. Then Miran Potrc explained in detail the procedure to be followed if anybody objects to any provision, but the constitutional changes cannot be prevented by anybody

if the Slovene Assembly adopts them. The Federal Constitutional Court may only repeal possible disputed acts that may emanate from the Constitution, but not the Constitution itself.

Asked about secession, Miran Potrc said that he did not know the name of anybody in Slovenia who would demand it. The provision on self-determination derives from the basic principles of both the federal and the republican Constitutions, as well as from the resolution of the first Slovene Assembly in Crnomelj [in February 1944].

Regarding the elections, Potrc replied that this is the only question on which there has been no unanimity in Slovenia either. It will be attempted to resolve the question at the very session of the Slovene Assembly on 27 September at which the amendments will be decided upon.

Asked what will happen after 27 September, Miran Potrc said that he hoped that the discussion will continue in a peaceful and democratic way, with professional arguments and not under the pressure of grave political evaluations and without a cultivated political dialogue, as is the case now, confirming that it is not a matter of serious professional arguments, but of certain political aims.

Miran Potrc added in conclusion that the Slovene constitutional changes are a contribution to democracy in Yugoslavia and not to its destruction.

Slovene National Bank in 'Unlawful' Deals

AU2509203989 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 89 p 13

[Zvonko Logar report: "Unlawful Operations By the National Bank of Slovenia"]

[Text] Will an affair involving the Italian lire finally receive its epilogue in the court, or will it be hushed up in one of the usual ways for the cases marked "strictly confidential?"

The strings of this entangled web involving the lire date back to now already distant 1983. Since 1983, the National Bank of Slovenia has been handling the lire exchanged in exchange offices and the lire deposited in the citizens' accounts on behalf of and for the National Bank of Yugoslavia. In other words, the handling of the lire has been different from the handling of other currencies. All banks in our country are obliged to transfer the Italian currency obtained in the above mentioned way to the National Bank of Slovenia.

Entangled Foreign Currency Web

According to an agreement between the National Bank of Yugoslavia and the relevant Italian authorities, the lire exchanged in our exchange offices and the lire deposited in savings accounts in our country cannot be transferred to any other accounts of the National Bank of Yugoslavia abroad, except its account with the Bank of Italy. The first complication arose when the Italian side decided that the daily transfers must not exceed 300 million lire although much greater sums of lire were being exchanged in Yugoslavia at that time. In 1987 this decision was altered in order to facilitate the transfer of the lire to other accounts of the National Bank abroad.

Due to the restricted possibilities for the repatriation of the Italian currency, this foreign currency web got completely entangled in the course of 3 years. After depositing the currency in Italy, the National Bank of Yugoslavia was obliged to pay the dinar equivalent to the authorized banks, in the cases when the lire came from exchange offices, and to credit foreign currency accounts in the cases when the lire came from foreign currency savings accounts. However, the National Bank of Slovenia was selling the lire to commercial banks for dinars. According to the regulations, the banks were supposed to deposit with the National Bank of Yugoslavia an amount of other foreign currency equivalent to the purchased amount of lire.

What the National Bank of Slovenia was actually doing was converting foreign currency into dinars. In this case, this was contradicting not only the existing regulations of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, but also the provisions of several federal laws.

When the unlawful operations were discovered, commercial banks were instructed to either immediately return to the National Bank of Slovenia the lire obtained in this irregular way, or to pay an equal amount of money in other foreign currencies to the National Bank of Yugoslavia. However, when the banks started to return foreign currency, their cost in terms of dinars was much higher than at the time when the lire were purchased. Since the National Bank of Slovenia only returned the dinar equivalent of the lire which it had received when the lire were sold, the authorized banks showed foreign exchange losses worth some 40 billion dinars. This was a great financial blow for them. In addition, there was also suspicion that the National Bank of Slovenia used the dinars received for the lire sold to promote the economy of its own republic. Later, during an audit it was shown that this was not correct, but by the end of August of this year the report of the audit team did not arrive to all the parties concerned.

An Attempt To Hush Up Things

A full investigation into the unlawful dealings with the lire was demanded as far back as March 1987. What happened was that influential people from Slovenia who hold top posts in the federation tried to hush up the case stating that revealing the affair to the public would cause harm to the republic from which they come. This would have perhaps remain the secret forever had Nikola Stanic, deputy governor of the National Bank of Serbia, not lifted the veil from it.

Court litigation against the National Bank of Yugoslavia and the National Bank of Slovenia was initiated by the Jugobanka Associated Bank, the Associated Bank of Croatia, and the Beobanka from Ljubljana on behalf of their basic banks.

This litigation is currently at standstill because a proposal has been made that the National Bank of Yugoslavia settle the foreign exchange losses from its income. However, the lawyers of the National Bank of Yugoslavia rejected this as unlawful.

One could say that the material consequences are obvious. It seems, however, that the National Bank of Yugoslavia has suffered the greatest loss because it did not receive in time the foreign currency for the lire that had been used. It is possible that despite the gross violation of the law and other regulations the whole thing would have been "forgotten" had it not been for the foreign exchange losses.

These unlawful operations, from which the veil has finally been lifted, are a good illustration of what could be done through pressure and lobbies in the federation, even when it concerns large amounts of money. As a rule, the most skillful in this are in fact those who are addressing the most vociferous criticisms to others.

LCY Expels Three Vojvodina Presidency Officials

LD2509163189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—Dr Tihomir Suvakov and Jan Marko, members of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, as well as Jon Srbovan, president of the Executive Council of the Vojvodina Assembly, were today expelled from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY].

This decision was adopted at a session of the Municipal Committee of the LC of Stari Grad in Novi Sad and explained by the participation of the abovementioned three high-ranking officials—in their work and activity—in a meeting held at the beginning of July last year in the office of the provincial secretary for internal affairs on the occasion of the arrival of Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad. At that time, among other things, it was decided to withhold water and electricity from the Serbs and Montenegrins at the protest meeting.

The Municipal Committee believes that these Vojvodina officials, upon whom ideopolitical measures have been pronounced, should also resign from their current posts. If they do not do this, the Stari Grad LC Municipal Committee will launch an initiative for them to be recalled.

Protest Meeting of Kosovo Serbs Near Gnjilane

AU2509185689 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 20 Sep 89 p 1, 11

[H. Bunjaku, I. Musliu report: "In Kosovo, We Can Only Live Together"]

[Excerpts] Gnjilane 19 Sep—In recent days, protest gatherings of citizens have been held in various villages inhabited by Serbs and Montenegrins in Gnjilane Commune, prompted by the list of members of the Presidium of Gnjilane League of Communists [LC] Communal Committee, which has not only failed to meet acceptance, but in Gornja Kuvca was actually torn up.

The largest gathering or, as the organizers called it, joint meeting of representatives of all the areas inhabited by Serbs and Montenegrins, was held in Partes yesterday evening. Tomislav Sekulic, secretary to the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, and Radmilo Bogdanovic and Boro Radovic, members of the Serbian LC Central Committee working group, also took part in the meeting, and were received well, although Zivojin Cuckic, president of the Gnjilane LC Communal Committee, was booed.

The People Do Not Want Incompetent Leaders

It was said that the list of possible members of the LC Communal Committee and its Presidium included candidates who are responsible for the present situation that has arisen in the commune. Because of this, the citizens called for the resignation of the entire committee and all the other communal leaders in the Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the judicial organs, and the immediate dismissal of all those Albanian schoolteachers against whom charges of ideological responsibility have been leveled. Ljubomir Stanojkovic, secretary to the Presidium of the Gnjilane Socialist Youth Federation, first spoke to the citizens who had filled the Hall of Culture, and said that even after the constitutional changes, which we had hoped would bring better days, the situation in the commune has not improved, and has now become alarming. All the old names, the same old people, are on the list of new members of the committee and its presidium. Jovo Sekulic said that we are not at all satisfied with the progress of ideopolitical differentiation. There has not been the differentiation in Gnjilane the people have called for. The people, he said, are right to criticize incompetent leaders whom they do not want, and who have no place among us. (There was applause for these words.) Zoran Vitkovic said that we cannot wait 100 years for the Albanian nationality to purge itself of its nationalism. [passage omitted]

The lawyer Mirko Djordjevic also spoke at length. Several times he criticized Bajram Selimi for what he called his injustice toward Vaxhet Idrizi, and then mentioned the names of employees in the judicial organs. According to him, Sinan Hasani and Bajram Selimi are most to blame for the mistaken cadre policy. He said that he had been 2 years on the streets without work because of Ekrem Arifi. He said that the construction of the radiator factory at Zeger was an idea of the separatists, in order to employ the Albanians from the Karadak region, because most of the Serbs in Zeger are already employed. The most incredible things happen in the organization run by Avram Ljubisavlevic who, he said, had careerist ambitions. Fragments of glass have been introduced into meat products. He said that it was a disgrace that Milaim Zeqiri has been appointed as secretary to the Self-Interest Community for Employment, and that someone

who had been obliged to resign from the post of president of the Communal Committee should be trusted to lead the program to employ returning emigrants. [passage omitted]

Employ Serbs in Kosovo, and Albanians (Mainly) in Slovenia

Many speakers, mainly intellectuals, addressed the assembled citizens. The poet Blagoje Savic said that we have hitherto been led by people with partisan leanings, while Nebojsa Cuckic said that the days of yes-men are over, and it is now time for able people. Drago Dincic suggested that all Serbs and Montenegrins should be employed in Kosovo; let the Albanians look for work in other parts of Yugoslavia, mainly in Slovenia. He then said that the division of Serbs and Montenegrins into the "indigenous" and "those who have come back" is a separatist idea. Milos Nikolic said that this time we cannot permit differentiation to be carried out as in 1982, because we cannot compromise with the Albanian nationalists. Other speakers also spoke to the citizens. Among those criticized were Shefqet Mustafa, Sinan Hasani, Milaim Zeqiri, Rexhep Hamiti, Asllan Bislimi, Halit Rexhepi, Reshat Nagjaku, Halim Vranovci, Bajram Selimi, Zivojin Cuckic, Abdylaziz Veseli, Refik Halili, Avram Ljubisavlevic, and others.

Presidium on President, Date of Congress

AU2509161189 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Sep 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Congress To Be Held Some Time in the Middle of January Next Year"]

[Text] The exact date of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] will be established at the next session of the Central Committee of the LCY at the beginning of next month. Bearing in mind that most republican congresses of the League of Communists will be held in the first half of December, at its session held last night the Central Committee Presidium of the LCY endorsed the proposal that the 14th extraordinary congress should be held some time in the middle of January next year. This proposal will be submitted for adoption to the Central Committee of the LCY.

It is not only a matter of complying with the adopted principles that the extraordinary congress, which has to perform all the functions of a regular one, has to be held 1 month after the last republican one, but it is also a matter of ensuring the necessary synthesis at the federal level following republican congresses, provincial conferences, and the conference of the League of Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army.

To Abandon Dogmatic Views of Self-Management

Although the idea of pushing back the dates of some republican congresses—so that the federal congress could be held in the previously planned period—was expressed at the session of the Presidium, the view prevailed that the republican congresses with planned dates (some being 15 December) should not be moved and that a minimum period of 1 month should be left for performing the final preparations for the extraordinary congress. Apart from this, one should bear in mind that a broad debate on the remaining congress documents—on the activity of the League of Communists in implementing the economic reform and in carrying out changes in the political system—will still need to be carried out.

Expounding on the Draft Theses on Creating the Ideopolitical Platform on the Activity of the LCY in Changing the Political System, Ivica Racan, head of the working group, said that this is another "open document" which will acquire its final form after an extensive general party debate.

Stressing that this document—which, logically, has some points of contact with the documents on the transformation of the League of Communists and on the activity of the League of Communists in implementing the economic reform—also includes some incomplete and even contradictory stands, Racan placed the focus on the attitude of the League of Communists toward self-management and said that this remains to the main strategic question.

After presenting two extremes in interpreting self-management—one which considers self-management to be a normative concept that has failed to produce results and the other according to which self- management should be abandoned— Racan pointed out that the pluralism of ownership that we advocate implies pluralism in self- management, too. Self-management will be dominant in the pluralism of ownership to the same extent as social ownership will be, he said.

The question of a multiparty political model remains open, but one should stress that this model is not necessary under present conditions.

The following issues were also discussed during the several-hour long debate on drafting the ideopolitical platform for the activity of the League of Communists: the extent to which one should expand or narrow the application of consensus, the way to arrive at a clear concept of a law-governed state, the freedoms and rights of a man as a citizen of a civil society and law-governed state, the responsibility of the League of Communists for the further development of self-management and socialism in the conditions when the League of Communists is renouncing its monopoly, the modern essence of the League of Communists, the federal character of Yugoslavia as set up by AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], etc.

The Term of Office of President and Secretary

A draft decision on introducing the post of the president of the Central Committee Presidium of the LCY and the manner of constituting the executive political body was

also adopted at yesterday's session of the Central Committee Presidium of the LCY.

According to the adopted proposal, the Central Committee of the LCY elects the president of the Central Committee of the LCY to a 2-year term of office. The president of the Central Committee of the LCY would head the work of the Central Committee of the LCY and of the Central Committee Presidium of the LCY as its executive political body.

Regarding the setup of the Central Committee Presidium of the LCY, two alternatives have been proposed: The first is that the Central Committee of the LCY should elect the presidium of 15 members (two members from each of the republican organizations of the League of Communists and one from each of the two provincial League of Communists organizations and from the organization of the League of Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army); the other is that presidents of the presidiums of the League of Communists of the republics and provinces should also be members of the presidium (as is the case now). Since there were votes "for" and "against" both proposals, the Central Committee of the LCY will have to make the final decision. Regarding the term of office of the secretary of the Central Committee Presidium of the LCY, it was agreed that it should be 2 years.

Milosevic Receives USSR's Vlasov 25 Sep

AU2509151389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, today held talks with Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and candidate member for the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, who is heading a delegation of this republic on a 4-day visit to our country.

In the 1-hour friendly and cordial talk they discussed relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and the USSR in which the Socialist Republic of Serbia plays an important role. They expressed satisfaction concerning the development of relations and cooperation and the belief that they will continue to develop on the well-known and mutually acceptable principles of the two socialist countries.

The talks were dominated by political and economic relations between the two countries.